


VOL. 1 PARTS 1 & 2.
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ORIGINAL PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON.



VOLUME I.

PART I.

LONDON:

MADDEN AND MALCOLM,

LEADENHALL STREET.

1845.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM WATTS,
Crown Court, Temple Bar.

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THIS work is devoted exclusively to Papers which have either been read at the General Meetings, or which, by reason of their importance to Oriental Literature and Science, the Council may think worthy of being published under the sanction of the Society.

Papers which may be too long to read at the General Meetings, or to include in this work, will be published separately, or together with other Papers on the same subject.

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IN ANSWER TO THE UNSCRIPTURAL AND UNHISTORICAL HYPOTHESIS
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REPRESENTING A CONSECUTIVE MONARCHY, AND THE
THEORIES FOUNDED ON THIS BASIS.

BY

ISAAC CULLIMORE, M.R.S.L., &c.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,
ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1844,
JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

PHARAOH AND HIS PRINCES.

A DUE appreciation of the several changes in the government of the ancient Egyptian empire, from the paternal Monarchy of Menes, the reputed Misor, as the respective dynasties of the line of that patriarch fell in, under the forms of Pentarchy, Tetrarchy, Dyarchy, Monarchy, Dyarchy again, and Dodekarchy, till the permanent restoration of the monarchichal form by Psammitichus in the sixth century before the Christian era, being indispensable to the study of Egyptian History and Chronology, it is hoped that the following observations may not be unacceptable to readers interested in this branch of inquiry, and its bearings upon the monumental tablets of succession, and the sacred Mosaic record; more particularly as the principles asserted by the historian have been hitherto, for the most part, overlooked; so much so, that the original passage which acquaints us that his Thirty Dynasties represented the records of five Egyptian *Περιεθνοι*, or national cycles, is not even quoted from Syncellus (p. 40, edit. Par. 1642) in Cory's Fragments of Manetho, the most useful compilation on the subject that has issued from the press.

THE EGYPTIAN PENTARCHY, &c.

There are few writers less beholden to their critics than the Egyptian historian Manetho. The dream of Scaliger, two hundred years ago, has not yet vanished; and, notwithstanding the extraordinary verification from contemporary monumental records, of at least sixteen of his (Manetho's)

Thirty Dynasties, it is still a question among the learned whether his Menes was not, according to the system, anterior to our Adam, originating a series of dynasties which were uninterrupted by the universal deluge. For, although a few of the German archæologists are perhaps the only literal followers of Scaliger in the present age, the theories of the French and Italian hierologists, and their followers in this country, by placing dynasties in succession, without reference to titles or geographical relations, tend to the same result as regards the early dynasties, and thus throw doubt on the rest of them;—theories which have been for ever set at rest by the monumental connection of the twelfth and eighteenth Diospolitan dynasties, discovered by one of the most zealous advocates of the elongated system, Dr. Lepsius; in correspondence with the tables of Eratosthenes, which assure us that the third, fourth, and sixth Memphite dynasties reigned in succession at the commencement of the Egyptian government, and hence that the Scaligerian hypothesis is unfounded.

The Remains of Manetho, however, assure us that he never thought of such principles, which the presence of the seventy biblical translators of his patron, Ptolemy Philadelphus, rendered altogether impossible; and the wonder is, that his clear statements should have been so unaccountably overlooked. Independently of the terrestrial gods and demigods which, in the Manethonian record, replace the ante- and post-diluvian patriarchs of the Mosaic, and thus give a similar beginning to both, the fundamental statement is, that his thirty dynasties which followed, contained, as already noted, a record of *five* Περιεθνοι, or national cycles of succession; consisting, therefore, in the first ages, as the titles of the dynasties teach us, and as Eusebius, according to the Armenian version, understood it, of the contemporary lines of the Thinites and Elephantinites, the Memphites, the Heracleots, the Diospolites, and the Heliopolites and shepherds of Lower Egypt; answering to the Pathrusim, the Naphtuhim, the Anamim, the Caphtorim, and the Casluhim and Philistim of the tenth chapter of Genesis, and disposed

in the geographical as well as the historical order of their respective origins.*

The Pentarchal was the common form of government among the descendants of Ham in the first ages. It was common to the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Pentapolites, and the Philistim; and was adopted by the Midianites, and

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* In a Paper which appeared in the Athenæum of April 6, 1844, I stated the Manethonian and Mosaic relations of the descendants of Mizraim, the Mestrœi of the *Chronicon Vetus*, or Old Egyptian Chronicle, somewhat differently, viz.

Manetho.	Moses.	
	Athenæum.	Pentarchy.
Tanites or Thinites.	Caphtorim.	Pathrusim.
Memphites.	Naphtuhim.	Naphtuhim.
Elephantinites.	Pathrusim.	Pathrusim.
Heracleots.	Casluhim.	Anamim.
Diospolites.	Anamim.	Caphtorim.
Heliopolites, }	Included with the	Casluhim.
Shepherds. }	Tanites.	Philistim.

It did not then occur to me that the Tanites, or Thinites, who first inhabited the scriptural Caphtor of Lower Egypt, were not, on this account, less the Pathrusim who, in the time of the Elephantinite dynasty, gave their name to the land of Pathros in the Thebaïd; while the Diospolites extended that of the Caphtorim from Caphtor, and their original seat in the Tanite Nome, to the Coptite and Diospolite Nomes; and, there being no doubt as to the identity of the Memphites and Naphtuhim, the Anamim and Casluhim, "out of whom came the Philistim," remain to the Heracleots and Heliopolites, and the Shepherds who followed the latter on their return into Egypt.

The five Egyptian families of the Mizraim seem thus fully appropriated—the Lehabim and the Ludim taking their place on the Lybian and Arabian confines; while the Pathrusim, the Naphtuhim, the Caphtorim, the Casluhim (and their descendants the Philistim, who migrated from Caphtor), and the Anamim, identify themselves with the country; the four first geographically, and the last in the name of the first king, Menes, and the many Amenemes who followed him, and which led to my previous Diospolite appropriation of the Anamim, now superseded on geographical evidence, which leaves only the Heracleots to represent that family of the Mizraim in the national Pentarchy of Manetho.

also, there is reason to suppose, by the Edomite descendants of Shem and Abraham.

The Philistim were an Egyptian colony, and their Abimilech and five Lords doubtless resulted from Pharaoh and his Princes—the heads of the five Egyptian Περιεθνοι, which seem again alluded to in the five cities of prophetic restoration (Isaiah xix. 18); while the law of Joseph, according to which a fifth of the land was at the disposal of Pharaoh, seems to connect itself, in common with other Egyptian Pentads, with this territorial distribution. Our Saxon Heptarchy was very similar to this form of government, and exhibited all the phases from Monarchy to Heptarchy, and back again to Monarchy, from the reign of Hengist to that of Edgar.

The record of Manetho commences with the *Thinite* dynasties, a name derived from their metropolis, where this part of the history was composed, after the Pathrusim had migrated southwards to the land of Pathros in the Thebaïd: for it is certain that Menes and his early successors never reigned at the comparatively modern city of This, supposed by many to be the Abydos of Greek writers.

Neither do the events recorded under the first two dynasties of Thinites (Cory's Ancient Fragments, pp. 93—98. London, 1832) belong to Upper Egypt. The raising of the palaces of Memphis by Athothes, and of the pyramids of Cochone, or Goshen, by Venephes; the earthquake at Bubastus, in the reign of Bœthus, which synchronizes with the destruction of the Pentapolis; the consecration of the Bulls, Apis and Mnevis, at Memphis and Heliopolis, and that of the Mendesian Goat, have all reference to the lower and first-inhabited part of the country.

It has therefore been conjectured by Rosellini that *Tanite*, rather than *Thinite*, is the original reading of Manetho, so far as regards the second dynasty. But, admitting this dynasty to have reigned at Tanis, how much more the first, at a period when Upper Egypt was scarcely inhabited; and especially as the Tanite character equally pervades both of them—Tanis, as the Septuagint translates the Hebrew "Zoan," having been the metropolis of the Delta from before the days

of Abraham, till the exodus of the Israelites (Gen. xiii. 18. Numb. xiii. 22. Psalm lxxviii. 12.), and the seat of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth dynasties—the first three of Lower Egypt—according to Manetho, as respectively stated by Apion Alexandrinus, and Syncellus, and the Old Egyptian Chronicle.

As, however, the reading of the most ancient copy of Africanus, preserved by Syncellus, is also found in the Armenian version of Eusebius, which is more than two centuries older than Syncellus, and in the Latin translation of Hieronymus, which is above one hundred years older than the Armenian, as well as in the Greek fragments of Eusebius, who wrote fifty years still earlier, there can be no question that we possess the original reading of Africanus, who wrote one hundred years before Eusebius, and with whom the misstatement therefore rests, if it be one.

But there is no occasion to imagine it. The records of the Pathrusim of *Tanis* were, as above, preserved at their subsequent metropolis *This*, in the land of Pathros; so that the geographical order of the history, from north to south, remains unembarrassed, and the original Tanite line of Menes takes both geographical and historical precedence. It seems to follow, that Africanus has preserved the true reading of Manetho.

The first and second Tanite or Thinite dynasties of the Pathrusim are followed in the record of Manetho, and in geographical order, by the third and fourth of Memphites or Naphtuhim, whose history proves them to have been contemporaries of the former, in agreement with the tables of Eratosthenes, already alluded to, at least from the end of the reign of Athothes I., son of Menes, who built the palace of Memphis (which all agree to have been founded by his predecessor), and so reigned over that district: besides that the Lybians revolted from the *first* Memphite king, Necherophes, and were therefore ruled or subjected by his predecessors. To the second Memphite dynasty—the fourth of Manetho—belong the Pyramids and Tombs of Ghizeh, and

most of the earliest referable hieroglyphic tablets, a few of those of the contemporary Shepherd or Philistim dynasty—the fifteenth—being the principal exception.

Next follow the Elephantinites of the fifth dynasty, whose names shew them to be a continuation of the Tanite or Thinite line: so that we seem here to have nearly the date of the transfer of the Pathrusim from Lower to Upper Egypt, to which the cities of This and Elephantina owed their origin.

The list is continued by the sixth dynasty of Memphites, which the tables of Eratosthenes, as above mentioned, prove to have immediately succeeded the fourth dynasty: so that the kings of the fifth of Elephantinites are excluded from an intermediate place, and have therefore none remaining but as the successors of the second dynasty of Tanites or Thinites, as above.

The title and periods of the seventh and eighth dynasties—the fourth and fifth of Memphites—are only extant; so that we have no alternative but to leave them as successors to the sixth of Manetho.

We have also only the title and periods of the ninth and tenth dynasties of Heracleots (the first king, Achthoes, excepted), who come next in geographical order southward to that of the Memphites, and whose contemporaneous place is determined, as will appear, by the record of the Diospolite line which follows in the geographical order of both the lesser and greater Diospolis.

This line, or rather the first series of it, occupies the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties. Of the first and third of these, the titles and periods only remain, as in the case of the latter Memphites and the Heracleots; but of the second—the twelfth of Manetho's history—we have fortunately the names and reigns of the kings, whom the recent discoveries of Dr. Lepsius, already alluded to, have indisputably determined to be the monumental dynasty of the Osirtesens who immediately precede the great eighteenth dynasty in the hieroglyphic record of Abydos; in confirma-

tion of the previously published opinions of Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar, Samuel Sharpe, Esq., and the Rev. E. Hincks.

The omissions of Manetho's copyists are, however, in a great degree, supplied in the Theban or Diospolite record of Eratosthenes, which occupies, with a difference of four years only (that of Eratosthenes 1076, of Manetho 1072,), the period of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties of Manetho (when the present reading of forty-three years in the eleventh, is replaced by 443, as it manifestly stood in the original), and restores to us the first five reigns (probably the first seven) of the eleventh, and the whole of the thirteenth; the intermediate reigns of Eratosthenes being Memphites of the third, fourth, and sixth dynasties of Manetho.

Manetho's intermediate twelfth dynasty is also, in part, identical with his fourth, while the monumental line of the Osirtesens springs from the united Memphite and Diospolite series: so that the difference between Manetho and Eratosthenes is explained by this doubly-proved connection of the Memphites and Diospolites.

The Diospolite series begins, like the Tanite or Thinite, with Menes and Athothes, who, we have seen, also reigned at Memphis; so that the death of Athothes becomes the indisputable era of the Pentarchy.

The Tanites or Thinites are, moreover, like the Memphites, connected with the Diospolites at a later period, by the apparent identity of their sixteenth king *Sesochris* with the *Sesostris* of the twelfth dynasty, the eighteenth Diospolitan king—forty-eight years being the reign assigned to both.

Neither is the wanting Heracleot line without relations, as above, which fix its contemporary place: for, the period of the ninth and tenth, or Heracleot dynasties, is five hundred and ninety-four years; while Lachares, of the twelfth dynasty of Diospolites, whom Manetho records to have built the Labyrinth in the Heracleot Nome, reigns from the five hundred and ninety-second to the six hundredth year of the Diospolitan line; during which interval the little State of Heracleopolis appears, from its period, to have merged in that of the

Diospolitans; this being probably the interval of the joint reigns of Lachares and Ammeres, the monumental Osirtesen III. and Amonemhe III., of whom the name of the latter appears in the remains of the Labyrinth discovered by Dr. Lepsius.

We have, thus far, four of the five States of the original Pentarchy of the successors of Menes—the Tanite or Thinite, the Memphite, the Heracleot, and the Diospolite. The third of these appears to have been the first to amalgamate with a more powerful one, when the original Pentarchy became a Tetrarchy; while the periods of the Tanites and Memphites shew that they followed in augmenting the Diospolite empire at the interval of about eight hundred years from the era of Menes, and in the time of the Thothmoses of the Tablet of Abydos, and Manetho's eighteenth dynasty; the preceding Tetrarchy being thus reduced to a Dyarchy.

We now come to the fifth State of the original Pentarchy, and the second of the Dyarchy, which followed it and the intermediate Tetrarchy, to be succeeded, in due time, by the undivided Monarchies of the Ramses and Saïtes.

Having conducted us from the oldest State of Tanis, southward to Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Diospolis, Manetho returns northward to that branch of the original Pentarchy from which the main and usually recognised succession of the dynasties is traced or derived.

It originates with the fourteenth dynasty, which is another blank in almost every thing but the period. It is called Xoïte and Tanite, but may perhaps be most properly termed Heliopolite, agreeably to the predicted restoration of Isaiah xix. 18, and was succeeded by the Shepherd rulers of the fifteenth dynasty (whose monumental remains connect themselves, as above, with those of the Pyramid builders of the fourth dynasty); both lines being represented, *in genere*, by the Casluhim and the Philistim of Genesis x.

These were followed by the mixed Shepherds and Natives of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasties, who had a collateral place after the fifteenth was reduced by the powerful Diospolites of the twelfth dynasty. The seventeenth mixed

line of Shepherds and Diospolites is followed by the great eighteenth dynasty of Diospolites, the legitimate successors of the twelfth, or the line of the Osirtesens, as above.

The seat of government of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties was Thebes, or Diospolis Magna, which was erected by the united line of the Memphites and Diospolites, towards the close of the fourth and eleventh contemporary dynasties; the founder being the second Busiris of Diodorus, called Bicheres by Manetho, and Biuris by Eratosthenes, and who was the immediate predecessor of Sebercheres, Chnubus Gneurus, Geson Goses or Sesonchosis, as Manetho and Eratosthenes are pleased to denominate the first Osirtesen of the monuments, in the records of the fourth and twelfth dynasties.

The building of This or Abydos, and Elephantina, followed soon afterwards, and that of the latter probably in or about the reign of Lachares of the twelfth dynasty, the builder of the Labyrinth, who is the third monumental Osirtesen, and in all probability the Tanite or Thinite Cheneres (for he is elsewhere named Concharis and Chenophres,) who ends the second dynasty, and follows Sesochris as Lachares does Sesostris, the subordinate line being then continued in the Elephantinites.

The twelfth and eighteenth dynasties of Diospolites being successive, it follows that the thirteenth was contemporary with the eighteenth: and it accordingly ends with Amuthantæus, Amuntæus, Amendes, Ismendes or Osymandes, reigning sixty-three years, all names of the great Rameses Meiamon or Amon-me-Ramses, whose historical reign is sixty-six years, and his monumental reign sixty-two. This identity is confirmed by the three hundred and seventy-four years which are equally the period of the thirteenth dynasty, as stated by Eratosthenes, and of the eighteenth till the death of the Monarch Rameses Meiamon, whose son Amenoph, Phthamenoph or Menephtha II. continued the Diospolite line, while his brother or relative, Mendes or Mandouphth, founded the new twenty-first dynasty of Tanites, which was followed by the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, called

Bubastite, Tanite, and Saïte, but all doubtless of the same race: and these reigned collaterally with the Diospolites of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, till Bocchoris the Saïte, and Anysis or Amasis the Diospolite, were, as we learn from Herodotus and Diodorus, alike conquered by Sabacon or Actisanes the Ethiopian, who founded the twenty-fifth Egyptian dynasty, and, according to Manetho, restored the monarchy of Egypt in succession to the *Dyarchy, Monarchy, Tetrarchy,* and *Pentarchy* which had preceded it in the times of the anterior dynasties, ascending to the first or paternal monarchy of Menes and his son Athothes. But Sabacon more probably originated the Dodekarchy, or Council of twelve Princes, to govern Egypt, while he reigned as supreme monarch over Egypt and Ethiopia, as will appear in a supplementary paper on the Dodekarchy, in which I have endeavoured to restore the names of the twelve rulers to history. The foregoing changes, and their bearings upon history, both written and monumental, will be fully elucidated by a tabular view of the five Egyptian States and thirty Dynasties, dated according to the astronomical system of the "*Chronicon Vetus,*" or Old Egyptian Chronicle, which was followed by Claudius Ptolemy in his Nabonassarean Canon, and corresponds with the authorised Hebrew Chronology of the Bible in the early ages, as the Canon of Ptolemy does in the later.

ISAAC CULLIMORE.

Arlington Street, Camden Town,
Dec. 1844.

REMARKS

ON THE

OBELISKS OF ANCIENT EGYPT,

THEIR SUPPOSED USES,

AS DEDUCED FROM WELL-AUTHENTICATED HISTORICAL FACTS,

THEIR INSCRIPTIONS,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST CONCERNING THEM.

BY

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HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY, &c.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1844,

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

REMARKS

ON THE

OBELISKS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

In the excellent and learned Paper which you have just heard, allusion has been made to the principal metropolitan cities of Ancient Egypt, in reference to the revolutions which took place in the various periods of Egyptian history, and the changes which were effected in the form of government as one dynasty prevailed over another, and the "Tanites" or "Pathrusim," the "Memphites" or "Naphtuhim," and the "Diospolites" or "Caphtorim," successively ruled the destinies of that empire. There is nothing visionary or speculative in Mr. Cullimore's statements: his conclusions are the result of elaborate research, and the most careful investigation, founded on facts recorded in the Bible, and confirmed by a comparison of the writings of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, and other historians, with the inscriptions which have been found upon the Egyptian and Græco-Egyptian monuments, and which the discoveries of modern times have enabled the hieroglyphic scholar and the philologist to decipher and interpret.

At our opening Meeting, when speaking of the rise and fall of empires, and of the state of our knowledge concerning the language, attainments, government, and religion of the early fathers of mankind, I stated that one of the principal sources of our information on these very interesting but intricate subjects was the monuments which have been preserved to us of the remote ages; and it may not be unprofitable, on the present occasion, to say a few words on one

class of them more particularly, viz. the Obelisks of Ancient Egypt; a commentary on which is well calculated to illustrate what I advanced in the general address, and also to confirm the observations made by Mr. Cullimore in his Paper.

Those of my hearers who have not been in Egypt may form some idea of the obelisks of that country, by the models and drawings which are now in the room, and by the definition given by Mr. Bonomi, who is one of the best authorities on this subject.* "The monuments properly called Obelisks may be described as long stones, quadrilateral, diminishing from the base upwards till within about a tenth of the height, when the sides converge to a point. The width of the base is usually about a tenth of the height to the part where the sides begin to converge." They were always monolithic, most commonly of syenite or red granite, and received a very high polish; but in the British Museum there are two basaltic obelisks eight inches and a half high, and one of sand-stone: and there is a plain sand-stone obelisk still standing at the Island of Philoe, on the frontiers of Nubia. Moreover, in the Fayoom, and at Axum, there are obelisks (improperly so called by Strabo) which are rounded at the top, instead of having a pointed apex. These ought rather to be called "Pillars," or "Tablets." They are considered to have been erected, either for the purpose of recording events—the progress of an army, for example—or in memory of the dead; and similar tablets were used for royal proclamations and decrees. They are, for the most part, clumsy, heavy, and out of proportion, like that in the Fayoom, the breadth of whose base, on one side, is about one-sixth of the entire height, and nearly one-fourth on the other. It is the only instance of any thing like an obelisk being found on the western bank of the Nile, which rather strengthens the idea of its being *a tomb-stone.* Such pillars or tablets are spoken of by Strabo as occurring near the rock tombs of the Theban monarchs, who desired to record their conquests in Bactria, Scythia, and India—just as, in modern times, we erect sculptured monuments to

* See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Vol. iv. Part i.

record the victories of military and naval heroes. I have seen some of these; but they do not appear to be allegorically associated with religion, as the obelisks are. Similar pillars have also been found in Assyria and other countries of the East; in Greece also, and Italy, specimens of which have been preserved. At the Mound of "Sarabout el Kadem," near the "Ouadi Megara," in the Peninsula of Sinai, there are a great many upright tablets, bearing inscriptions which, according to the shields of catalogued kings which accompany them, severally date from the age of the Pyramids to the eighteenth dynasty. These tablets were thought by Dr. Young to be tomb-stones; but some of the inscriptions seem to refer to the opening of the quarries in the Ouadi Megara: and Colonel Felix, who once read a Paper to the Royal Geographical Society on the subject of these monuments, gave it as his opinion that they were *Votive Tablets*, and that the historians of the Pentateuch alluded to this very spot when they inform us that Moses asked permission of Pharaoh to go "three days' journey into the wilderness" to sacrifice (Exodus viii. 25—31.) Some have even fancied that on one or two of the stones they could make out the names of the Patriarchs Moses and Aaron; and Colonel Felix's opinion is further strengthened by the fact, that the Mound of "Sarabout el Kadem" is exactly *three days' journey* (in the wilderness) from Egypt; that is, from the site of "Tanis or Zoan," the capital where Moses resided at that time. Mr. Bonomi is of opinion that the "Tzlm" also, or image of gold, which Nebokt-náz'r set up in the Plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon (Dan. iii. 1.), agrees with the proportions of an Egyptian obelisk; and the Temple of Bel or Belus (Dan. i. 2.), erected by that monarch and his father, with those of an Egyptian pyramid (Herod. i. 181.) "The image," he observes, "was sixty cubits high, and six wide, making the height ten times its width"—proportions which, he thinks, cannot refer to the image of a man, though exactly to that of an *obelisk*, which Pliny defines as "*a type of the solar rays*," as connected with the Sabian Religion of the Babylonians. This idea of an obelisk is, I think, confirmed

by their inscriptions, sites, and apparent uses, concerning which I now propose to say a few words.

There are about thirty obelisks still standing; but of these eight only are in Egypt.* If we add those which have been thrown down, viz. the prostrate obelisk at Alexandria (which makes the second of the so-called "Cleopatra's Needles"), nine which are distributed among the ruins of "Saan," or "Tanis," and two others at Karnak (of which fragments only remain), in all, *twelve* of the Colossal order, and of the period of the twelfth, eighteenth, and twenty-second dynasties, the total number of known Egyptian obelisks will be augmented to forty-two.

Obelisks must ever be ranked among the most elegant and interesting of the Egyptian monuments; but to appreciate their beauty, they must be seen in Egypt, and in connection with the temple-palaces which they were designed to grace. The effect is then heightened by the climate, and by the associations which they call forth. In Europe, they are out of place, unmeaning, and, I had almost said, *uninteresting;* for their inscriptions have all been accurately copied; and, viewed as isolated objects, in the midst of a busy trading city, beneath a cold and clouded sky, the magic spell by which they are surrounded on the banks of the Nile is at once broken, and they are no longer the same. Several attempts were made by Zoega, Kircher, and others, to explain their uses; but very little was known about them until after the discovery of the Phonetic system of hieroglyphics by Dr. Young. Mr. Burton, Mr. Bonomi, Mr. Birch, Mr. Sharpe, and other gentlemen, then devoted their attention to the subject; and it is to them that we are indebted for nearly all that we know

* Viz. One at Alexandria; one at Heliopolis; four at Karnak; one at Luxor; and one at Philoe, by the first Cataract. No less than twelve have been conveyed to Rome; and at Florence there are two. One may be seen at Paris, one at Arles, and two at Constantinople: and in England we have four; viz. the two Basaltic Obelisks in the British Museum, the Obelisks of Ptolemy and Cleopatra at *Soughton Hall*, and one of the most interesting (on account of its great antiquity), viz. that which was brought to England by Lord Prudhoe, and is now at *Alnwick Castle.*

about them. Our knowledge concerning them, however, is still imperfect: and although all are *agreed* as to their relative *dates*, and the names of the kings whose acts they were evidently designed to commemorate, the details of the inscriptions have been variously translated. Still, enough has been made out to explain their uses. They furnish valuable data connected with the early history of Egypt, and the kings by whom they were set up; and the interest is increased by the fact that their hieroglyphics were added to at subsequent periods by the reigning monarchs. These inscriptions present a strange admixture of allegory, apparent piety, arrogance, presumption, and superstition. The same monument refers to the adoration of the gods, and to the self-aggrandizement of the creature: it records the mighty deeds of the hero, his power, and assumed divinity: and whilst it alludes to the glories of the creation, and to the omnipotent Author of the Universe, it ascribes to the monarch, not only the titles, but the *attributes* of the Deity. Thus, for example, on one of the obelisks which was taken from Heliopolis, and is now at Rome, the king "Menephtha Sethai," after being styled "Lord of the Diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt,"—"Divine Priest,"—the "Establisher of Justice, who renders illustrious the everlasting edifices of Heliopolis by foundations fit for the support of the Heaven*,"—"who has established, honoured, and adorned the Temple of the Sun, and of the rest of the gods, which has been sanctified by him, the 'Son of the Sun'"—"*everlasting* like the Sun,"—the "powerful,"—the "*director of the years*,"—the "great one of victories,"—the "*Lord of the World*,"—"*giving life for ever*,"—and so on, he is designated "*begotten and educated by the gods*,"—"builder of their Temples,"—the "*piercer of foreign countries*,"—the "*chastiser of foreign countries*,"—the "*scourge of foreign countries*,"—and "*piercer of the Shepherds*,"—the "establisher of justice, who fills Heliopolis with obelisks, to illustrate with their *rays* the Temple of the Sun; who, like the phœnix, fills with good things the

* We have a similar instance of presumption in the building of the Tower of Babel. (Genesis xi.)

great Temple of the gods, inundating it with rejoicings." It would occupy too much time to quote other instances: they are all somewhat after this fashion.

I mentioned, in the Introductory Address*, that, in patriarchal times, it was the custom, whenever it was desired to commemorate important events, or to honour any particular individual, to set up a heap of stones; and that, in like manner, such were often dedicated to the Almighty, and then denoted a spot set apart for His worship. The Egyptians did the same: but it would appear that what was once a simple and pious custom, became, in more corrupt ages, converted into a profane usage; and that these haughty monarchs, who waged extensive wars, made triumphal processions, and, after returning to their country laden with rich spoils, and followed by numerous bands of mutilated captives, (paintings of which are represented on the walls of their palaces,) erected statues, and adorned and enriched the temples, were not only deified after death, but *through fear*, worshipped during life: and there can be little doubt that obelisks were erected by them in token of their having attained to the very acme of human greatness; and we have, in the instance of Nebokt-náz'r, or Nebuchadnezzar, requiring the people to fall down at his bidding before the image or column, or whatever it was which he had "set up," a very striking illustration of the presumptuous arrogance of these ancient kings (Dan. iii. 5.) Another instance is afforded by the figures on the Lateran Obelisk, now at Rome. The god Ammon is represented holding to the nostrils of Thothmes III. the emblem of life; and something similar occurs on each of the façades. It has been thought that this may be an allegorical allusion to the creation of man. Why, then, should it be applied always to the king, and not to any other being? Besides, on the south side the king is represented *sitting*, and offering the same *emblem of life* to the beak of a hawk, which is the usual emblem of royalty: and as he is called also the "giver of life," "everlasting like the sun," and the

* See the Society's "Transactions and Reports." Vol. i.

"begotten of the gods," it seems rather as if it were designed to intimate the *divine origin of kings*, or at least to leave an impression of the divine *authority* of kings: and indeed, if the hieroglyphics are correctly translated, the idea is expressed in unequivocal terms.

That the Egyptian monarchs were in the habit of arrogating to themselves the most high-sounding titles, epithets which were calculated to inspire the people with awe, is proved, not only by the inscriptions on the obelisks, but by those which are to be seen on the temples, and in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, where several of the most powerful dynasties were interred. For example, we have there recorded the names and honours of Rameses III., to whom the splendid palace at Medinet Haboo, two or three of the temples at Karnak, and other important buildings are attributed. His acts, as well as his titles, are vauntingly set forth: and, according to the representations upon the walls, his magnificence and power must have been such as to ensure the most abject submission to his decrees; and his very name must have been a terror to his enemies. We learn that he was a great warrior, and ambitious to imitate, if he could not surpass, Rameses II., "Sesostris," "Osymandias," or "Ismendes," who invaded Syria and Asia Minor, and who may perhaps be described in the Iliad as "*Memnon*," one of the famous heroes of the twelfth century (the period of the Trojan war, and of the reign of Rameses II., or Osymandias, the "Memnon" of Strabo), who, according to Hesiod, "*were distinct from other men: a divine race, who lived by the care of Jupiter.*" Certainly, if we may judge from the works which now remain, Rameses II. was one of the most renowned of all the Egyptian rulers, and, under his auspices, the arts arrived at their greatest perfection. According to the best authorities, it was he who built the temples of Aboo Simbal, Sebooa, Dehr, Ghyrshe, and the small temple of Kalabshe in Nubia; also the "Memnonium" at Thebes. He erected the beautiful obelisks at Luxor; and his name occupies a most conspicuous place on almost every temple throughout the land. Having conquered the adjacent coun-

tries, he crossed the Ganges, and subdued the whole of India, even to the ocean; and, returning home in triumph, he was regarded by the people as "*superhuman.*" Even Homer says of him, that "at the siege of Troy, Pyrrhus was the most beautiful after the '*Divine Memnon.*'" Many instances are related by Sir Walter Raleigh of the arrogance of this monarch; and we read in Eutropius, that "when he was disposed to be seen, and to *ride in triumph,* he would cause four of his captive kings to draw his caroch. One morning, when he was in this way taking the air, observing one of the enslaved princes cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him, he inquired what he found worthy of admiration in that motion. He received for answer, 'that in those wheels he beheld a remarkable illustration of the instability of all worldly things; for that the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downwards, and under all;' which, when Sesostris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude in future." The fallen Colossus in front of the Memnonium (and to which I have already alluded, both in this Paper and at our last Meeting) bears hieroglyphics on the back and arms which sufficiently identify the statue with the hero whose bold achievements are sculptured on the adjacent walls (where the king is seen *driving his chariot furiously over the body of the vanquished chief*); and, according to Diodorus Siculus, one of the tablets reads thus:—"I am Osymandias, king of kings. If you wish to know how great I am, and where I lie, surpass my works!" It is not my purpose to inquire which of the Egyptian heroes was *the true* "Memnon." I must reserve that interesting question for a future occasion*. We read of many other striking instances of the arrogance of the Egyptian rulers, who, not satisfied with the fame which falls to the lot of mortals, aspired to *immortality,* and sought to

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* I have treated more fully on this subject in my work on Egypt, Vol. ii. pp. 391—424, 554, *et seq.*

acquire a name which should *never perish;* and we have a remarkable illustration of the *obsequious* homage which was rendered to monarchs, as late even as the time of Herod; for when the king harangued the multitude, they exclaimed, "It is the voice of a god, and not of a man!" (Acts xii. 21—24.)

Some obelisks had only a single line of hieroglyphics down the centre; others had *three.* Examples of the former are those of Al-Matariah, that of the Et-Meidan, or Hippodrome, at Constantinople, and the small obelisk in the Piazza Rotonda at Rome. When there are *three,* the centre column is often polished, as in that of the "*Lateran*" and those of *Luxor,* and they are not unfrequently deeper cut and better formed; whilst the two lateral ones are left comparatively rough from the chisel, and are almost always the work of subsequent monarchs, as is particularly the case in the great obelisk of Karnak, and that of St. John Lateran. Moreover, particular figures are found to have been purposely obliterated, and sometimes others have been substituted, according to the caprice of monarchs, or as changes have taken place in the feelings or in the religious views of the people. A remarkable instance of this practice of substituting one figure for another occurs in the "Flaminian" obelisk at Rome. Generally, a line was drawn, just above the shaft, to denote the heaven of the region below; and sometimes the pyramidal portion was covered with a bronze cap, — the Luxor obelisk to wit, and that of Al-Matariah, on the apex of which Abd-el-Lateef, an Arabian physician who lived in the thirteenth century, saw the *bronze.* This bronze was, in my humble opinion, perhaps *gilt,* with a view, in that glowing climate, to make the obelisk still more resemble one of the *sun's rays.* Obelisks were erected chiefly in cities where the people worshipped the *sun;* and the idea seems to have been, that as a sun-beam is an emanation from that resplendent orb which was regarded as the representative of the Deity, so a pointed obelisk would allegorically denote such an emanation, and at the same time do honour to their high priests and kings, to whom, we have seen, they were wont to attribute affinity with the gods, and consequently regarded them

as rays or emanations of the Deity. Some obelisks have been broken up by Mohammed Ali, the present ruler of Egypt, and used by him as building materials, either for cotton manufactories, fortifications, or docks; and at Rome a large obelisk is said to form the foundation of a palace in the Corso.

As regards the sites of the Egyptian obelisks, it is remarkable that there are *none* found on the *west* or *left* bank of the Nile: and in like manner, we *never* see any *pyramids* on the *eastern* side;—certainly not in Egypt Proper. Obelisks were commonly placed in front of the principal entrance to the temple-palaces; and, in my opinion, we have satisfactory evidence that the approach to them was made by an avenue of couchant sphinxes, or other colossal statues.

Enough has been said, I think, to shew that obelisks were intended to uphold the consequence, and subdue or overawe the vassals of the living monarch; and, as we might have expected, they were intended to adorn the palaces of the living: whilst, on the other hand, pyramids (as I endeavoured to illustrate the other day) being devoted to a twofold object, viz. Sepulture and Devotion, were only to be found among the habitations of the *dead*—the one being a symbol of the sun's rays, or *rising* sun, the other of its decline, or *setting*. The ancient Egyptians were a very imaginative people: they compared the life of man to a summer's day; and as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, they invariably had their tombs to the west of their dwellings. This is found to hold good universally, except in a few instances in which the mountains are near to the banks of the river, when, for the most part, the tombs were excavated in their rocky sides.

HELIOPOLIS.

El-Matariah, a wretched village situated in a fertile plain on the confines of the desert, about three hours east of Caïro, marks the site of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, or, as it is termed in the Scriptures, "On." (Gen. xli. 45.) During the glory of this celebrated metropolis, the inhabitants worshipped a bull, under the title of "*Mnevis*," with the same

ceremonies as the "*Apis*" of Memphis; but the idols of both have long since perished with their deluded votaries. The spots on which they stood, however, are contemplated, in the present day, with no ordinary feelings, being associated with events which our infant lips have been taught to lisp, and of which we have since been accustomed to read with peculiar satisfaction. Not a vestige remains of the ancient magnificence of "On," once so remarkable for its palaces, obelisks, temples, and statues, if we except one solitary monument which has been left, as it were, to note the departure of Egypt's glory, and to commemorate this ancient seat of learning, the favourite dwelling-place of Pythagoras, Herodotus, Plato, and his friend Eudoxus, a celebrated astronomer, the pupil of Ichonuphy, a priest in the Temple of the Sun, of Aristotle, and many others. It would seem that, at this time, "On" was the seat of government; but, after the building of Memphis, it began to decay, and gradually dwindled down to nothing; and now, as if to mock the vanity of kings and heroes, and to remind us of the instability of all human greatness, one well-proportioned beautiful obelisk, of the reign of Osirtesen I., is the only object which has withstood the devastating hand of man. It is about sixty-seven feet four inches in height, and is covered with hieroglyphics: its breadth at the base is six feet, and it is formed of one single piece of red granite.* Its façades do not differ, and it is considered one of the oldest monuments in Egypt. Its hieroglyphics struck me as not so well cut as some others. Diodorus Siculus mentions that Sesostris set up *two* obelisks there, which were 120 cubits (*i. e.* 180 feet) high, and 8 broad (*i. e.* 12 feet); and Pliny tells us that Sochis and Rameses, who was the contemporary of Priam, each erected *four*; that those of Sochis were 48 cubits (72 feet), and that the others were about 40 cubits high (60 feet). The obelisk which now remains is thought, by some, to be one of those

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* We frequently find a discrepancy in the accounts of travellers respecting the height of Egyptian Monuments; which may often be referred to the *débris* of ruins and sandy accumulations at their base being greater at one time than at another.

put up by Sochis: and supposing Sochis to be identical with Asychis, mentioned by Herodotus, and the Osochon of the twenty-first dynasty (Tanite) of Manetho, it must have been erected, we are told, about 1020 years before the Christian era. If, however, we refer it to the time of Sesostris, it would carry us a century further back. It is called by the Bedoueens the "Pillar of Abraham." There was once an avenue of sphinxes, leading possibly to the Temple of the Sun, so often referred to on this obelisk and on that of Thothmes III. at Rome, to which I have already alluded. Some of the fragments of these sphinxes were still to be seen in the time of Pococke, and they had been previously described by Strabo, who visited Heliopolis about thirty years before Christ. According to the observations of Pococke, the soil had not accumulated to more than seven feet and a-half or eight feet: and it is probable that if excavations were made there, much that is interesting might be obtained. Dr. Richardson speaks of a colossal statue similar to that of Memnon at Thebes. Of this I saw nothing. I observed other ruinous masses lying about in different directions, but no appearance of a temple or tombs. Not far from the village of Matariah, in the midst of cotton plantations, acacias, and palms, is the trunk of a venerable sycamore, which is pointed out as the "Tree of the Madonna," beneath whose branches, the Christian Monks assert, the Holy Family rested when they fled from the pursuit of Herod. I now pass on to the consideration of the obelisks at Thebes.

ALKARNAK.

The space which intervenes between that portion of the great Temple at Karnak, which was added by Sesostris or Rameses II., in the twelfth century B. C., and the very ancient and original Temple of Jupiter Ammon, which may be traced back as far as the reigns of Osirtesen I. (in the eighteenth century B.C.), and of Thothmes (in the fourteenth century B. C.)—the names of these monarchs appearing upon the walls—was formerly adorned with four tapering monolithic, granite obelisks, varying in height, to 70 feet and

93 feet 3 inches, referable to the time of Thothmes I. and III. Three only now remain erect: the fourth, which lies on the ground, is divided in half, ready to be carried away. The hieroglyphics are well cut, and surmounted by the hawk, the central line being much deeper, and more ancient than the other two. These obelisks are situated close to what has been termed the "Gate of Shishak," or "Shishonk," in consequence of the contiguity of a colossal figure without, intended, as is supposed, for that monarch. The largest obelisk was erected by Thothmes I., who continued the celebrated temple supposed to be founded by Osirtesen I., in the age of Joseph, inasmuch as his is the oldest name inscribed thereon, and which was further continued by Thothmes II. and III., and subsequently by Rameses III. (who built the magnificent palace at Medinet Haboo, and covered the walls with historical bas-reliefs), and by Shishak and other kings.

ALUXOR.

The distance between Karnak and Luxor is about two miles, and the communication was formerly made by a magnificent paved avenue of couchant sphinxes;—I say *formerly;* for, although a great number of these statues still remain, the last two-thirds of them are more or less mutilated, or concealed by dust, crumbling, sun-burnt bricks, and decayed vegetable matter, which affords nourishment to tufts of rough grass, and weeds, and rushes. The first third of the way is comparatively clear. It is approached by four magnificent gateways of polished granite, each sixty feet high, and flanked by towers covered with hieroglyphics, which relate to the monarchs who built them. The roofs are composed of single stones, and the whole presents a frontage of 400 feet. Passing beneath these gigantic porticos, we enter upon the causeway, which is about sixty feet wide. The sphinxes on either side are what are termed "*Cryo-Sphinxes,*" *i.e.* figures with a ram's head and the body of a lion. They are of sand- or grit-stone, and arranged at equal distances of twelve feet, and face their opposite neighbours, holding, between the paws, an Osiris mummy-idol of the same mate-

rial, in the erect posture, with the arms crossed on the breast, and the sacred *tau* in each hand, and there is a row of hieroglyphics down the front. Some of the sphinxes are now overshadowed by palms. The other extremity of this imposing avenue is terminated by the great temple of Luxor, founded by Amonoph III.; immediately in front of which, are the mutilated remains of several colossal granite statues, and two in particular, bearing the mitre-shaped cap, and a Cartouche bearing the titles of Sesostris upon the shoulders.

But the objects with which we have now to do, are the two elegantly-tapering syenite obelisks which stood one on either side of the propyli of the granite gateway. One of them measures 93 feet 6 inches in height, the other 76 feet 6 inches. Both are exquisitely shaped and polished, and beautifully sculptured with three lines of hieroglyphics, the centre one being deeper than the others, as if of an earlier date: and surmounted by the hawk, denoting that the obelisks were dedicated to the sun: and probably it was this that stayed the destroying hand of the Persian invader; for both were in a perfect state until the French thought proper to remove one of them to Paris. This was brought to Europe (as I have already stated*) at an expense of 40,000*l.*, where it is likely, in a few years, to fall to pieces.†

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* See the Society's "Transactions and Reports," Dec. 3, 1844.

† *The Obelisk at Paris.*—"A fact interesting to the antiquary has been elicited in taking out the *wooden* keys which closed a fissure in the base of the obelisk, to replace them with two other keys of *copper*. They were completely corroded by the action of the air and moisture, and there is every reason to believe that they were inserted when the obelisk was first put up at Thebes, and shews that, 4000 years ago, the Egyptians were acquainted with the powerful means of uniting two pieces of wood now used, and called 'dove-tailing.'"—*Galignani.* Again, the *Temps* of Nov. 24, 1841, states that "the fissure which runs from the base of the obelisk of Luxor, on the south side, to about a third of its total height, *increases enormously.* All the material which was put into it for the purpose of stopping it has fallen out, and the air and rain enter freely. Whether the increase of the fissure is to be attributed to the double action of the air and the rain, or to the obelisk not being placed quite upright upon its base of granite, is a question daily put, but without any solution being obtained. Whatever

THE ALNWICK OBELISK.

One of the most ancient, as well as of the most interesting obelisks which remain to us is one which was brought to this country by Lord Prudhoe, from a village in the Thebaïd, where it was found in 1838, and presented to him by Mohammed Ali, and it is now in the museum at Alnwick Castle. As I have not had an opportunity of seeing it, I will avail myself of Mr. Bonomi's description of it. "The apex," he says, "is broken: its entire height now from the base is only 7 feet 3 inches. Although small, it resembles the other obelisks. It is one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity, bearing the nomen and prænomen of Amonoph II., who ascended the throne of Thebes in the 160th year of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty, as the immediate successor of Thothmes III., *Mœris* or *Menophres*, viz. in the fourteenth century before the Christian era. There are, accordingly, only three obelisks known which are of more ancient date, viz. those of Osirtesen, Ammon Nitocri, and Thothmeses. It takes its place, therefore, in point of antiquity, immediately before the great sphinx which was the work of Thothmes IV., the son and successor of this Pharaoh, viz. Amonoph II. He reigned thirty years, and is supposed to be the '*Memnon*' to whom the musical or speaking statue was erected in the plains of Thebes.

"The hieroglyphics of this obelisk are *incavo*, which is rather unusual for that period. Another peculiar feature is, that it is inscribed only on one façade; but the inscription is perfect, with the exception of two characters, and, 'as usual on many of the remains of the Amonoph family, the usurping propensities of the god Ammon are to be observed, the name having been inserted to the prejudice of some former characters.'"

It appears, then, that this is one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity perhaps in the world; for there are

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Whatever may be the cause, it is easy to predict that this monument will soon fall, if a remedy be not speedily applied;"—whereas, if it had been allowed to remain with its companion in Egypt, there is every reason to believe that it would have stood 4000 years longer without injury.

scarcely any relics of this distinguished monarch, notwithstanding there are so many of the memorable eighteenth dynasty to which he belonged; and it suggests many important problems for the consideration of the learned.

THE ROMAN OBELISKS.—ST. JOHN LATERAN AND FLAMINIAN OBELISKS.

Of the obelisks at Rome, there are two which deserve particular notice, viz. that of "*St. John Lateran*," which is the largest, and that which is termed the "Flaminian" Obelisk. Both were brought from *Heliopolis;* the one by *Constantine the Great,* the other by *Augustus.* They were removed *to* Rome in 1588 and 1589, and set up, one in the *Piazza San Giovanni Laterano,* the other in the *Piazza del Popolo,* by Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who dedicated them to the purposes of Christianity. The height of the one is 105 feet 8 inches; the height of the other is 87 feet 5 inches. It would be impossible to do justice to either in a Paper of this kind; but as some of those present have doubtless seen them, a few words on the authority of Zoega and Cipriani, Mr. Bonomi and the Rev. Dr. Tomlinson, now Bishop of Gibraltar, who have published concerning them, may not be unacceptable. As regards the first-named, Mr. Bonomi informs us that, as on the celebrated obelisks of Luxor at Thebes, and on that of the Porta del Popolo, the two vertical columns of hieroglyphics are inferior in workmanship, and have been added at a later period; and he calls the attention of antiquarians to the fact, that on this and on the large obelisks of Karnak, wherein, on these more ancient works of the Egyptians, Ammon usurps the place of some divinity who has preceded him; his figure and titles have been most scrupulously erased to make room for those of his rival; "and it still remains to be ascertained," he says, "who or what this more ancient divinity was, and when this change took place." The inference to be drawn from this is, that the obelisks which shew this must be referred to *a very early date;* and although the names of *Thothmes* III. and IV. and of the *Rameses* appear upon them (kings of the dynasties which were most remarkable for the progress made in the arts and sciences), so elegant are they in form

and proportion, that they afford additional proofs that, at a still earlier period, the people must have attained to a very considerable degree of skill and ingenuity; and the best hieroglyphic scholars, artists, and architects in the present day, agree that some of the very earliest works of the Egyptians, both in regard to sculpture, painting, and building were the most complete and admirable; in fact, that they were never surpassed in any subsequent generation.

"*The Flaminian*" obelisk is the third in size at Rome; but it is considered highly valuable in an historical point of view, bearing the dates and titles of *Ousirei* I., or *Manephtha-Sethai*, the father of *Sesostris* or *Rameses* II., called "*the Great*:" "but," observes Dr. Tomlinson, "the greater part of the inscriptions are of the reign of *Rameses* himself." The date, according to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, is between 1385 and 1355, B.C.; according to Rosellini, it is between 1600 and 1580, B.C.: both of which are impossible, if Thothmes III. be Mœris or Menophis, the author of the Canicular era, 1325 B.C.; and Mr. Cullimore has accordingly referred the reigns of Rameses II. and his father to the twelfth century B.C., and is supported by the astronomical date of the ceiling of the Memnonium, 1138 B.C. The inscriptions are, as usual, flattering to the king, who both *implores* and *imparts to others* power and length of days. They record high-sounding titles, victories, magnificence, and zeal in erecting temples and adorning sacred edifices. The hieroglyphics are deeply cut, like those at Medinet Haboo; yet they are considered inferior to those of the "Lateran" obelisk. The centre column is the deepest and best; and, as already mentioned, some of the figures have been obliterated, and others substituted: "and," observes Mr. Bonomi, "the wretched attempts made by the Romans to renovate them afford another proof of the great superiority of Egyptian art, in regard to these sculptures, to those of later ages."

OBELISK IN THE PIAZZA ROTONDA.

The obelisk in the Piazza Rotonda was erected A.D. 1711 by Pope Clement XI. It is 52 feet 6 inches in height, has a

single column of hieroglyphics on each of its four sides, and also records the names of Sesostris or Rameses II.

THE OBELISKS AT ALEXANDRIA.

The celebrated "Needles of Cleopatra" at Alexandria are two beautiful obelisks, which are supposed to have been brought from Memphis, and to have once adorned the palace of the Ptolemies. They are about sixty-nine feet in height, that is, above the sand, and eight feet square at the base. Dr. Clark says, sixty-six feet high and seven square. They are covered with hieroglyphics, as in other instances, characteristic of the reigning monarchs; and they are formed of one entire piece of Syene granite, which, however, has lost its florid red colour and become pale, in consequence of the partial decomposition of the feld-spar. One of them is still standing; the other is prostrate; and although it is considered the best of the two, and belongs to the English, no attempt is made to defend it from injury. Pieces are continually being chipped off by strangers; and the pedestal on which it formerly stood has been carried away by the Pasha, as materials to repair the harbour. Champollion cleared away the rubbish from the base of the "Needles," and found a flight of beautiful polished steps leading up to them, from which we may infer that the original level of Alexandria was much below the present one.

As, many years ago, when the Alexandrian obelisk was presented by the Pasha to the English Government, a tablet, bearing an inscription commemorative of the valour of the British army was placed on it, we have been charged with lukewarmness and apathy for not causing such a trophy to be erected in London, as it would then be calculated to keep alive the recollection of that effectual blow which was given by the English to the ambition of Napoleon, the modern Sesostris! In the metropolis we do not require such a memento; and it may be questionable how far we are justified in thus triumphing over former enemies. It is true that war is sometimes unavoidable, but it is always to be lamented: and it is surely vain glory to be continually

reminding our neighbours that they were beaten; and I think we should act more nobly were we to let the obelisk be *preserved in its original site*, in memory of *all* of the contending Europeans who shed their blood, on that occasion, in Egypt. The "Needles of Cleopatra" are not only to be ranked with the finest monuments of their kind, but they form connecting links in the chain of historical evidence; and we cannot be too careful to *watch over and protect* them. Much, therefore, as I desire to see my country enriched with whatever is valuable or excellent, I cannot subscribe to the opinion which advocates the *removal* of such relics. There are many points of interest connected with obelisks which I cannot notice here; as, the means by which they were cut in such immense masses from the native rock, and the mode of transportation adopted by the workmen; for the nearest granite quarries are at Es-Souan, a distance of not less than 750 miles from the sea. I myself saw two obelisks lying in those quarries, in the rough state, just as they had been cut; and they must have been in progress when the country was invaded. They measured 65 feet by 7½, and yet the two extremities were imbedded in the sand. There is a stone lying in the quarries of Baalbec in Syria which measures 68 ft. by 21, and 14 ft. 8 inches. Several similar ones have been used in the construction of the basement wall of the neighbouring temple; and *three* that are quite equal to it. The Luxor Obelisk, which is still in Egypt, measures 93 ft. 6 in. without the pedestal, and it is 8 ft. 2 in. square at the base. Its fellow, which is now in Paris, measures 76 ft. 6 in. without the pedestal, being 7 ft. 6 in. square at the base; and the obelisk of Thothmes at Karnak measures 93 ft. 6 in.; and the Lateran Obelisk at Rome, 105 ft. 8 in. If we add to these the "Rameses" Colossus at Thebes, the weight of which Sir Gardner Wilkinson estimated at 887 *tons* 5½ *cwt.*, we shall have, at one view, the comparative size of six of the largest stones made use of in the ancient world. The sitting statues in the Plains of Thebes are no small masses, and surpass every thing of the kind in our day; the rock on which the statue of Peter the Great is erected at St. Peters-

burg being the greatest effort made by the moderns. As Mr. Hall has remarked concerning the quarries of Ancient Syracuse—"These trivial, but distinct and indubitable traces of the handiwork of the ancients carry with them a peculiar sort of authenticity and unpretending truth, which bring old times more vividly before our minds than even the great works of art do." When contemplating the wonders of Egyptian architecture, we find it difficult to reconcile what we see with what we know of the people's history. But the simple touch of a pickaxe on the face of a rock in an old quarry, like one of those at Es-Souan, tells a story which none can doubt. We almost hear the sound ring in our ears, and half wonder that we do not see the workmen labouring about us.

When we look at these stupendous monumental remains, consider their symmetry and beauty, and reflect how great a distance they are brought, and that they are formed out of the hardest and most unmanageable of all materials, viz. Egyptian granite, the question naturally suggests itself, "Where did these extraordinary people procure the tools requisite for such a work?" But we are reminded by Mr. Bonomi, in his interesting Paper on this subject, that the art of working in brass and iron was known even prior to their existence; and he adds—"The knowledge of natural history which the Egyptian Obelisks exhibit must have been derived from a higher and still more ancient source; viz. from the instruction in that science which was given to Adam by the Creator himself, and of which these most ancient and interesting monuments of human genius exhibit perhaps but a feeble manifestation."

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

NOTE

ON

THE EMPEROR TRAJAN'S CAMPAIGN

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

BEING A COMMENTARY OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS CONCERNING THE WARS WAGED BY THIS GENERAL AGAINST THE PARTHIANS,

AND ON

HIS CONQUEST OF SELEUCIA AND CTESIPHON.

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ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1845,
ISAAC CULLIMORE, Esq., M.R.S.L. &c., IN THE CHAIR.

NOTE ON THE EMPEROR TRAJAN'S CAMPAIGN

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

The historical materials which assist in investigating the progress of the Emperor Trajan in his wars against the Parthians are limited to the latter books of Dio Cassius, to the abbreviations of Xiphilinus and Niceus, and to certain numismatic resources. The Correspondence of the Emperor with the Younger Pliny; the Treatise of Rittershusius, "*Trajanus in lucem reproductus,*" Ambeguæ, 1608, which MS. contains a careful collection of all the passages in the ancients in which the Emperor is made mention of; and Mannert and Engel's elaborate works upon the Danubian Campaigns; are of no utility in this inquiry.

We learn, then, from the only available sources of information in reference to the Emperor's Campaign in Mesopotamia (Dio Cassius. Edit. Reimar. Hamb. Lib. lxviii. cap. 26), that, "In the beginning of spring Trajan entered the enemy's territory. But, as the country near the Tigris does not produce timber fit for ship-building, he had the ships, which had been constructed in the woods near Nisibis, conveyed in carriages to the river; for they had been so contrived, that they might be taken to pieces and put together again. And, with considerable difficulty, he formed a bridge over the river against the mount Καρδυνον, or Kardymus. The Romans crossed the river, and subdued the whole country of Adiabene; and, after this, advanced, without meeting any one to oppose them, as far as Babylon itself."

The river here alluded to, is rather by inference than by positive statement, found to be the Tigris. The mountain alluded to, is also admitted by geographers (Cellarius Notitiæ Orbis Antiqui, &c. p. 383) to be the same as the Gordiæus, or mountains of Kurdistan. There is no other author who uses the same name as Dio Cassius does for the hills in question; but the Γορδυαῖα of Strabo (xi. p. 359), Γορδιαῖον of Ptolemy, Kardu of the Targum of Onkelosius (Genes. viii. 4.), or mountains of the Karduchii, as they are still more generally called, approximate sufficiently in their various readings to attest, with other circumstances, their reference to one and the same chain of hills; and which, to be more minute in our geography, correspond either with that portion of the Kurdistan hills, which, under the name of Jibal Abyadh of the Arabs, and Chá Spi of the Kurds, both signifying "the White Hills," approach the Tigris in the parallel of Nisibis; or to the hills which hem in the same river a little to the northwards, at Jazirah ibn Umár, the Bezabde of the Romans.

The other circumstances here alluded to are furnished to us by the passage of the river, conducting the Romans into Adiabene, of which the Karduchian Mountains, and the rivers Tigris and Greater Zab, constitute the boundaries. Adiabene was especially designated by geographers (Cellarius, op. cit. p. 768) as the most noble portion of Assyria, and it contained the cities of Nineveh and Gangamela. It is supposed to have derived its name from the river Zab, by a not uncommon mutation of Zab into Diab, and which is discussed at length in Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxiii. c. xx. Vales. vi.). By comparing the passages in Strabo (xi. 530. xvi. 736. 739. 744), it would appear that the province was also understood to extend on both sides of the river Tigris above Nineveh. Ptolemy placed Arbela in the same province; but that city was more generally considered as the capital of its own province of Arbelitis; and Pliny reverses the order of consideration, and makes (vi. cap. xiii.) Adiabene a part of Arbelitis.

The river, the mountain, and the province, then entered upon by Trajan, leave no other meaning to the above pas-

sages, quoted from Dio Cassius, nor will it allow of any other interpretation, than that the Emperor crossed the Tigris by a bridge of boats, and entered into Adiabene. But it is important to observe that there is an inconsistency in the continuation of the same narrative, when he is made to advance thence, without opposition, to Babylon; for had he continued his journey down the valley of the Tigris, he would have arrived at Ctesiphon, Babylon being upon the river Euphrates.

Hence it is, that, in an Essay especially devoted to this inquiry, and which is contained in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Tome 21, Trajan is made to descend the Tigris, and, after reducing Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to ascend the Euphrates to Babylon.

Not only, however, does this oversight occur in the passage in question, but it will be found, upon further examination, to be itself contradicted by the same historian, who, in Vol. ii. p. 117 of the Reimar edition, relates, that Trajan, on his way down the Euphrates, visited those springs of sulphur which had been made use of in constructing the walls of the stately Babylon. The same circumstance is also alluded to, in the editions of Dio Cassius, by Niceus, who corrects Xiphilinus in designating that which the former calls sulphur, bitumen; but who, at the same time, incorrectly describes as a *cave* that which Xiphilinus more aptly expresses as being the mouth of a lake or pond.

The bitumen fountains of Babylonia are now well known to be situated at the modern Hit, on the river Euphrates, a site which corresponds to the Αέιπολιν of Isidorus of Charax; the Zittra or Sittra of Zozimus; the 'Ayun, or springs of Hit; and to the river "So" of Herodotus (lib. i. cap. 179). Both the former historians lend their testimony also to the fact of Trajan having—probably in imitation of Alexander the Great—visited the fountains from whence the Babylonian bitumen was obtained; and they further state, that the natives exhibited near that place, what they called the "Throne of Trajan," a favourite expression in the East, as in the case of the Takhti Jamshid, the Takhti

Sulimán, the Takhti Kusrá, and Takhti Kaïser, the respective thrones or seats of open audience, of Dejoces, Cyrus, Chosroes, and Valerian; and which, in this case, is described by Zosimus as being a lofty tribunal, hewn out of stone.

In addition to these combined proofs of Trajan's having visited these bitumen fountains, so celebrated in all antiquity, Xiphilinus further relates, that the Emperor, having visited the ruins of Babylon, he wished to have made a canal from the river Euphrates to the river Tigris; but that failing in this, he was obliged to drag his vessels from the one river to the other; all these transactions having occurred previously to his construction of a bridge across the Tigris for the purpose of attacking Ctesiphon.

Niceus (Vol. ii. p. 86.) explains this portion of the narrative as follows: "Trajan had it in his mind to establish a communication between the Euphrates and the Tigris by a canal; but having learnt that the Euphrates was much higher than the Tigris, he desisted from his purpose, fearing that the Euphrates, which had already too much slope, might be no longer navigable if he wished to continue his enterprise. So he had boats transported from one river to the other, and took possession of Ctesiphon."

We are thus placed, by these contradictory statements, in the dilemma of being obliged to reject one or the other. It is not conceivable that the Emperor would have approached Ctesiphon at once by the river Tigris and by the river Euphrates. But, in regard to the first of these statements, we have only the fact of the crossing of the Tigris at or near the Karduchian Mountains, and the reduction of the province of Adiabene. There is a total silence in what relates to the long tract of country intervening between that province and Babylonia; and there is also the fact of the historian conveying him from thence to Babylon, and not direct to Ctesiphon; and which would lead us to infer that the Emperor returned, after the conquest of Adiabene, into Mesopotamia: the more so, as on his return from the Parthian capital, by the valley of the Tigris, he would have had to combat the warlike Atrenians, who would scarcely have let

him pass unopposed, had he advanced by the same way as that by which he returned; and which inference would indeed be rendered unavoidable, if we admit the correctness of those other passages, and the combined testimonies which refer to the Emperor's acts on the Euphrates, and at Babylon itself.

In regard to the latter statement, as to the Emperor having approached Ctesiphon by the Euphrates, we have the before-mentioned combined testimonies as to his visit to the fountains of bitumen on that river, and the positive statements of his historians to his having wished to carry a canal from the river Euphrates to the river Tigris, and of his having been obliged to transport his boats by land from the one river to the other. It is almost needless to remark here that this must have been owing to some obstruction of the Nahr Malik, or Royal Canal, similar to what was afterwards presented to the Emperor Julian, when the Persians are described as having filled it with stones; for that canal dates from a far more remote antiquity than the epoch of the Roman Cæsars.* If, then, the greater number of circumstances in regard to the details of the campaign establish the fact of Trajan's having approached Babylonia by the Euphrates, it remains to be inquired, How, having constructed his boats in the forests of Nisibis, he succeeded in effecting their transport to the Euphrates? and here much greater facilities present themselves than would have occurred in their removal to the river Tigris, which is at a distance of upwards of fifty miles by land from Nisibis.

This ancient capital of Mesopotamia is, in fact, washed by the waters of the Jahjakjah, the Mygdonius of the Romans, and which gave its name to the province. It is a considerable stream, the second largest tributary to Al Khabúr, the Habor of Scripture, and Khaboras of the Greeks and Romans; and it was navigated by the steamer *Tigris*, in the year 1836, for some distance from its embouchure into the Euphrates, without any impediment having been met with to a further

* Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxiv. cap. 21; Vales. cap. vi.) describes both Trajan and Severus as having re-opened and sailed by the Nahrmalcha, or Royal Canal; and Zozimus (lib. iii. cap. 24.) says the natives pointed out a canal dug by Trajan, into which the Narmalaches, as he writes it, fell.

navigation, had the opportunity presented itself. There would then have been nothing further to do, than, after the construction of the boats, from woods apparently growing on the very banks of this river itself, or on the adjacent hills of Masius (Jibal Túr), to launch them on the waters of the Mygdonius, and float them down to the "great river" itself. Unfortunately, history is silent upon a transaction which otherwise admits of so simple, and, in every respect, so satisfactory an explanation.

It is also to be remarked, that the circumstances of Nisibis, on the one hand, and Cercusium (which was at the mouth of the Khaboras) on the other, being so long "limitrophal," or frontier towns of the Roman Empire in the East, (and Hadrian, after the decease of Trajan, hastened to bring the empire within its older limits,) are highly presumptive of their having been generally made the points of departure for incursions carried into the neighbouring countries.

It also remains to be noticed, that we possess a few facts, in the subsequent events of history, confirmatory of the navigation of the river Euphrates by Trajan. Thus we find that the Emperor Alexander Severus, when advancing to repel the Sasanian Prince, who, succeeding to the Arsacide or Parthian dynasty, had revived the claims of the house of Cyrus over all Anterior Asia; that, in the words of Xiphilinus, he went to Nisibis, which had been a short time previously besieged, and vigorously and successfully defended by Letus, and that he afterwards sailed upon the Euphrates with all expedition, attended by a great number of vessels. Severus is here made, like Trajan, to go first to Nisibis, and to travel from thence, not by the Tigris, but by the Euphrates, to Babylonia; and the same historian particularly dwells upon the fact, that he was anxious to imitate his predecessor in his Oriental progress. With respect to the epoch of Alexander Severus, we have the additional materials furnished to us by Eutropus, Aurelius Victor, and Sextus Rufus; but they do not throw any further light upon the question whether or not it was also (as is most probably the case), by the Khaboras that the Emperor passed from Nisibis to the Euphrates.

We also find, on the authority of Ammianus Marcellinus

(Am. Marcellinus. Edit. Wagner. Erfardt. Lib. xxiii. cap. 2.), that the Emperor Julian, who is also expressly stated by his historian to have followed the steps of Trajan, took to the river on his arrival at the Khaboras, and sailed down the stream, followed by part of his army in ships of timber and boats of hide. Cercusium had, in the interval, been surrounded by walls and towers by Dioclesian, when that Emperor occupied himself in giving security to the frontiers of the empire.

Thus, notwithstanding the negative facts of the silence of history upon the subject, the positive indications of Trajan's having built his boats upon a stream tributary to the Euphrates, of his having visited the bitumen fountains of Babylonia, and of his having been obliged to transport his boats by land or by water from the one river to the other, a distance, in the parallel of Ctesiphon, of about twenty miles; would leave scarcely a doubt as to the conqueror of the Parthians having approached Ctesiphon by the river Euphrates, and not, as is generally admitted, by the river Tigris; and which deductions we find to be further corroborated by the proceedings of the Emperors Alexander Severus and Julian, who, according to the testimony of their respective historians, both professed to follow in the footsteps of their distinguished predecessor.

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH.

NOTES ON THE HIEROGLYPHICS

OF

HORAPOLLO NILOUS.

BY

SAMUEL SHARPE.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1845.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S. &c., IN THE CHAIR.

INTRODUCTION.

The work entitled the "Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous" is remarkable as being the only ancient work which is written to explain the Egyptian Hieroglyphics. It professes to have been written in Coptic, and translated into Greek by one Philip; but in its present state, it is Greek in more than its language. It always speaks of the Egyptians as "they" and "them," and sometimes blunderingly attempts to explain Egyptian words by the help of the Greek language. For example, the writer says that ⲚⲞⲨⲚ, "the inundation," a well-known Coptic word, means "New," deriving it from the Greek Νεος. Upon the whole, it seems more probable that it is a Greek work written by Philip, from explanations given to him by Horapollo, and which he did not understand. He gives, clause by clause, the description of the hieroglyphical characters, and the reasons, founded on figurative considerations, for the characters having such meanings. As the greater part of the characters which he describes are not found in any of the numerous inscriptions known to us, and as most of the meanings are such that it is scarcely possible they could have existed on the monuments at all, the work has, both on external and internal evidence, usually been rejected as of little worth. But now that modern ingenuity, guided by the sure and philosophical rules of induction, has given us some insight into hieroglyphics, we are led by a rational curiosity to compare our knowledge with the assertions of Horapollo; not expecting to gain much information from him (for it would be unphilosophical

to rely on a witness who is evidently mistaken in nine cases out of ten), but to see what knowledge he had of the subject which he professes to teach. His work is full of puerile reasoning. Out of the one hundred and eighty-nine groups which Horapollo undertakes to explain, it would be difficult to point out forty in which he has a knowledge of the true meaning: and in most of these, he is remarkably mistaken in the reasons which he assigns for the meaning. He is not aware that the characters represent sounds, but supposes them all to be figurative or allegorical.

We are told by Suidas that Horapollo was a grammarian of the reign of Theodosius, who, after teaching for some time in the Schools of Alexandria, removed to Constantinople; but we may fairly doubt whether our author is the person he is speaking of. Beyond this doubtful account, nothing else is known of him.

The two last editions of this work are those by Dr. Leemans of Leyden, and by Mr. A. T. Cory of Cambridge; and from the latter, in particular, I have freely borrowed in the following Notes. But the subject of hieroglyphics is still in a state of progress; and as it would be wholly unnecessary for every fresh annotator to print a new edition of the text, there can be no better method of calling the attention of students to his views than by laying them before this Society. This I venture to do; and the following few extracts from Horapollo are the whole of those in which his explanations seem to be just, according to the present state of our knowledge of the subject; and they are followed by such remarks, and illustrated by such hieroglyphical characters, as I should add if I were now publishing an edition of his work.

NOTES

ON THE

HIEROGLYPHICS OF HORAPOLLO NILOUS.

BOOK I.

Chap. 1. To denote an age [or period, *αιων*] they draw the sun and moon, because their elements are lasting for an age [*αιωνια*]. But to write an age otherwise [meaning eternity] they draw a Serpent with its tail covered by the rest of its body.

Note. Thus in each of the hieroglyphics for the words *Year*, fig. 1,[1] *Month*, fig. 2,[2] and *Day*, fig. 3,[3] which are the more common periods of time, we find a Sun; and in the word *Month* a Moon, as well as in the names of the several months. We find the Serpent with a long tail forming part of the words *For ever*, fig. 4;[4] and the Asp with a twisted tail is the word *Immortal*, fig. 5.[5]

Again—This Serpent the Egyptians call Ouraius, which is, in Greek, Basilisk.

Note. **Ⲟⲩⲣⲟ** is the Coptic for King, and hence the Greek name for the animal, a Basilisk.

Chap. 3.—When they wish to denote the Natural Year, ἐνιαυτὸς, they draw Isis, that is to say, a Woman. By the same they also represent the Goddess. And Isis, with them, is a Star, called, in Egyptian, Sothis, and in Greek, the Dog-star, which seems also to rule the rest of the stars.

[1] Fig. 1, Sharpe's Vocab. 634. [2] Fig. 2, Voc. 643. [3] Fig. 3, Voc. 671.
[4] Fig. 4, Voc. 316. [5] Fig. 5, Voc. 191.

Note. I do not find the word *Year* represented by a woman; but in the zodiac of the Memnonium, the Beginning of the Year, the heliacal rising of the Dogstar, or when that star rises with the sun, is a woman in a boat, fig. 6;[1] and in the Planisphere on the Temple of Dendera, we have a Cow in a boat, fig. 7,[2] for the same part of the heavens; each meaning the goddess Isis.

Again—When they write a Natural Year otherwise, they draw a Palm-branch.

Note. As we have seen in fig. 1, a Palm-branch is part of the hieroglyphical word *Year.* ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲓ and ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ, the Coptic words for *Year,* seem to mean the *complete heaven,* from ⲡⲏ, *the heavens,* and ⲗⲁⲙ and ⲣⲁⲙ, *rich, splendid.* If this be the case, we see, in the similarity of sound between ⲡⲏ, *the heavens,* and ⲃⲁⲓ, *a palm-branch,* why a palm-branch is used for the word *Year.*

Chap. 4. When they write a Month, they draw the Moon inverted ...... because they say that on its heliacal rising, when it has come to fifteen degrees [from the sun], it appears with its horns erect; but in its decrease, after having completed the number of thirty days, it sets with its horns downward.

Note. In all the hieroglyphics for *Month* the Moon has its horns downward, as in fig. 2; but on the sarcophagus of the wife of Amasis, in the British Museum, where the deceased is addressed "Thy name is New Moon," the horns are upwards, as in fig. 8.[3] The resemblance of this figure of the moon rising heliacally, when one day old, to the moon in a boat, seems to be the reason why the other constellations, when rising heliacally, in the zodiac of Dendera, are all in boats, as figs. 6 and 7.

[1] Fig. 6, Burton, pl. 58. [2] Fig. 7, Denon, pl. 132.

[3] Fig. 8, Sharpe's Egypt. Inscript. pl 118. 7.

Chap. 5. When writing the current Civil Year, ετος, they draw the fourth part of an aroura [their term in the square measure of land].

Note. Fig. 9[1] seems to be the hieroglyphic here meant, and it may be compared with fig. 1. But the Palm-branch with a Square is used when a number of years are spoken of, and the Palm-branch with a ring is used in dates; which is the reverse of what seems to be Horapollo's meaning.

Chap. 7. Moreover, the Hawk is put for the Soul, from the meaning of the name; for among the Egyptians the Hawk is called Baieth.

Note. In many sculptures we see a bird over the mouth of the dead man, meaning the soul which has quitted the body, as in fig. 10.[2] In chapter 34 this bird is called the Phœnix.

Chap. 8. When writing Ares and Aphrodite they draw two Hawks.

Note. Horus is often drawn as a Hawk-headed Man, fig. 11;[3] and the name of Athor, here called Aphrodite, is written with a Hawk within a House, as fig. 12.[4] The word Athor is obtained from its resemblance in sound to the Coptic words for "House of Horus," ⲏⲓ ⲧ ϩⲱⲣ.

Chap. 9. To write Mother ...... or Minerva, or Juno, or Two Drachms, they draw a Vulture ....; Minerva and Juno, because among the Egyptians Minerva is thought to preside over the upper hemisphere, and Juno over the lower ...... and Two Drachms, because among the Egyptians the unit [of money] is two drachms.

Note. The Vulture, as in fig. 13,[5] is the usual hieroglyphic for Mother. In fig. 14,[6] we have the two goddesses, Neith and Isis, representing Heaven and Earth.

[1] Fig. 9, Voc. 635.
[2] Fig. 10, Materia Hierog. I. 18.
[3] Fig. 11, Egypt. Inscript. pl. 1.
[4] Fig. 12, Voc. 116.
[5] Fig. 13, Voc. 1013.
[6] Fig. 14, Denon, pl. 129.

As our author remarks, a Didrachm is the unit of money; and fig. 13 is ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ, "alone."

Chap. 13. When signifying a Mundane God, or Fate, or the number Five, they draw a Star.

Note. We find the Star part of the word God on all occasions, as fig. 15.[1]

Fig. 16.[2] is the numeral Fifteen, where the Star is the numeral Five.

Chap. 16. Again, when signifying the Two Equinoxes, they draw a Cynocephalus sitting.

Note. On the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, a sitting Cynocephalus, or Dog-headed Monkey sitting on a landmark, marks the Summer solstice, as fig. 17.[3]

Chap. 17. When they wish to denote Courage they draw a Lion.

Note. A Lion seems to have this meaning in the hieroglyphics. See Vocab. 770.

Chap. 18. When writing Strength they draw the fore-parts of a Lion.

Note. Fig. 18[4] is the word ϫⲟⲣ, 'victorious,' and the latter half of the word Neit-cori, or Nitocris, *Neith the Victorious.* It is spelt Thor, but the instances are common of Th and Ch being interchanged, through the guttural sound.

Chap. 21. When signifying the rising of the Nile, which in Egyptian they call *Noun* ...... they sometimes draw a Lion, and sometimes three large Waterpots, and sometimes Heaven and Earth gushing forth water.

Note. In Coptic we still have the word ⲛⲟⲩⲛ for water; and the god of the Nile is called Hapinoun, or

[1] Fig. 15, Voc. 190.
[2] Fig. 16, Egypt. Inscript. 73. 13.
[3] Fig. 17, Burton, pl. 58.
[4] Fig. 18, Wilkinson's Thebes, pl. i.

"Waterman," fig. 19,[1] though more usually Hapimou, fig. 20.[2]

We also meet with the title "*Lord of the Waters,*" as fig. 21,[3] with a water-pot.

Chap. 24. When they wish to write Protection, they draw two Human Heads, that of a man looking inwards, and that of a woman looking outwards.

Note. Fig. 22[4] and fig. 23[5] each mean *Guardian* and *Belonging to.*

Chap. 26. When they wish to denote an Opening, they draw a Hare.

Note. Horapollo probably means a rabbit, as there is a resemblance between the hieroglyphic name of the animal SOAT, fig. 24,[6] and the Coptic word ϭⲱⲧϩ, "*to burrow.*" When a rabbit occurs in the hieroglyphics, it has that syllabic sound, and with the letter ⲛ it forms the very common word ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ, *just,* as in fig. 25.[7]

Chap. 32. When they would represent Delight, they write the number Sixteen.

Note. We have a coin of Hadrian with the figures sixteen over a reclining figure of a river god, to denote that sixteen cubits was the height of rise in the Nile at all times wished for. We have other coins on which the river god is surrounded by sixteen little naked children or Cupids; and it would almost seem that the Alexandrian artist had, in this case, had in his mind the similarity in sound, in the Latin language, between Cupids and Cubits.

Chap. 28. To denote Egyptian letters, or a Sacred Scribe, or a Boundary, they draw Ink, and a Sieve, and a Reed.

[1] Fig. 19, Burton, pl. 57.
[2] Fig. 20, Burton, pl. 59.
[3] Fig. 21, Voc. 781.
[4] Fig 22, Voc. 496.
[5] Fig. 23, Voc. 493.
[6] Fig. 24, Rossellini, M.C. 20.
[7] Fig. 25, Voc. 620.

Note. In Fig. 26,[1] the hieroglyphic for *Scribe,* and *Letters,* we perhaps have these objects. This character is not used when Greek letters are spoken of on the Rosetta stone.

Again—And among the sacred scribes there is a sacred book called Ambres, by which they judge as to a person lying sick, whether he will live or not.

Note. We recognise this word on the Gnostic gems in the word Chambre, and perhaps in Abrasax, whence the more modern word Abracadabra. See fig. 27. and fig. 28.[2] In the last two words, the sound of *MB* has sunk into *B*.

Chap. 39. And again, when they would write Sacred Scribe, or Prophet, or Embalmer, or Spleen, or Smelling, or Laughter, or Sneezing, or Government, or a Judge, they draw a Dog.

Note. Anubis was the god of embalming; and the priest, whose duty it was to embalm the dead is represented with a dog's head. See fig. 29.[3] He probably wore a mask of that form, for his dog's head is always large enough to hold a man's head concealed under it. A dog-headed sceptre (fig. 30.[4]) is also the hieroglyphic for *Power.* But by the help of the next chapter, we see that our author more particularly meant the Dog, fig. 31,[5] which stands before Osiris in the judgment scene on the Papyri, and seems to be the original of the Greek dog Cerberus.

Chap. 40. But when they would write Government, or a Judge, they place before the dog a royal garment.

Note. This is always the case in the judgment scene: it is the skin of some spotted beast, as fig. 32,[6] hanging on a pole.

[1] Fig. 26, Voc. 545.

[2] Figs. 27 and 28, Walsh's Gems.

[3] Fig. 29, Young's Hierog. pl. 68.

[4] Fig. 30, Voc. 556.

[5] Fig. 31, Young's Hierog. pl. 5.

[6] Fig. 32, Voc. 142.

CHAP. 43. When writing Purity, they draw Fire and water.

Note. We find a flame of fire and a bucket of water with this meaning. See fig. 33,[1] *Purifications.*

CHAP. 44. When any thing unlawful or hateful, they draw a Fish.

Note. The nearest hieroglyphic to this; is the word *dead*, fig. 34,[2] in which the letter *M* is a fish.

CHAP. 46. To denote Manliness with Prudence, they draw a Bull.

Note. Fig. 35.[3] is the word *Brave.* The arm is only the final vowel. From ⲙⲁⲥⲓ *a bull,* we get ⲙⲁⲥⲉ *to fight,* by the similarity of sound.

CHAP. 52. And when writing Knowledge, they draw an Ant.

Note. The group, fig. 36,[4] forms the title of one of the four chief orders of the priesthood, and was also used by the king.

CHAP. 53. And when they wish to write Son, they draw a Goose.

Note. Fig. 37.[5] is *Son,* and fig. 38.[6] *Daughter.*

CHAP. 54. For an Unjust and Ungrateful Man, they draw two claws of an Hippopotamus turned downwards.

Note. Fig. 39,[7] the hieroglyphical group for *enemies* begins with the character here spoken of.

CHAP. 59. The serpent's name, among the Egyptians, is Meisi.

Note. We find this name in hieroglyphics, as fig. 40,[8]

[1] Fig. 33, Egypt. Inscript. 66. 2.
[2] Fig. 34, Egypt. Inscript. 32.
[3] Fig. 35, Egypt. Inscript. 42. 2.
[4] Fig. 36, Egypt. Inscript. 32.
[5] Fig. 37, Voc. 996.
[6] Fig. 38, Voc. 997.
[7] Fig. 39, Egypt. Inscript. 74. 25.
[8] Fig. 40, Egypt. Inscript. 65.

where it is followed by the demonstrative sign to distinguish it from *Born*. We have the same word in Coptic for *serpent*, ⲙⲓⲥⲓ.

Chap. 60. And otherwise to denote a Watchful King, they draw a Serpent watching, and in the place of the king's name, they draw a Watcher.

Note. There seems to be a mistake in this sentence; and I should conjecture, that instead of the last word *φυλακα, a watcher,* we should read *γυπα, a vulture;* and that the group meant was fig. 41,[1] *a sole ruler*, or *Monarch*.

Chap. 62. When denoting a people obedient to a king, they draw a Bee.

Note. Our author seems to be thinking of the Twig and Insect, fig. 42,[2] the well known title of the kings. It is strictly a double title, each used by an order of Priests, and one peculiar to the Upper, and one to the Lower Country. Hence it is to be translated *King of Upper and Lower Egypt*.

Chap. 70. When they speak of Darkness, they draw the tail of a Crocodile.

Note. Fig. 43.[3] may be meant for a crocodile's tail. It is the word *Black;* and has that meaning from the similarity in sound between Χαμψη, Herodotus's name for *a Crocodile*, and ⲕⲁⲙⲉ, the Coptic for *Black*.

[1] Fig. 41, Voc. 403. [2] Fig. 42, Voc. 417.

[3] Fig. 43, Rossellini, Mon. Reg. 41.

BOOK II.

CHAP. 3. Two feet joined, and walking, signify *the path of the sun in the winter solstice.*

Note. In the zodiac of Tentyra, the twelve signs are enclosed within two female figures, representing the heavens, as in fig. 44;[1] where the feet represent the *summer*, and the hands the *winter solstice.*

CHAP. 5. The hands of a man, one holding a shield, and the other a bow when drawn, denote the Front of the Battle.

Note. The hieroglyphic nearest to this is fig. 45:[2] a man's arms, one holding a shield and the other a club; this is the word *Brave* or *Victorious.*

CHAP. 9. When we would denote the loins or constitution of a man, we draw the *backbone;* for some say that the seed is brought from thence.

Note. Fig. 46,[3] which is a thigh-bone with the flesh on it, is the word *Son*, and may be the hieroglyphic here meant.

CHAP. 11. Two men joining their right hands denote *Concord.*

Note. We find this group in the hieroglyphics, as fig. 47,[4] and it seems to mean *Friends.*

CHAP. 12. A man armed with a shield and a bow denotes a *Crowd.*

Note. We find a man with a bow for the word *Soldier*, as fig. 48;[5] and a man with an arrow, as fig. 49,[6] with the same meaning.

[1] Fig. 44, Denon, pl. 132.
[2] Fig. 45, Egypt. Inscript. 42. 4.
[3] Fig. 46, 1012.
[4] Fig. 47, Burton, 42.
[5] Fig. 48, Voc. 988.
[6] Fig. 49, Voc. 989.

CHAP. 29. Seven letters enclosed in two rings signify a Song, or Infinite, or Fate.

Note. This seems to allude to the Seven Tens in fig. 50,[1] which mean the seventy days of mourning and embalming between the death and burial, during which the funeral song may have been sung.

CHAP. 30. A straight line, together with a curved line or a Ten, signify *prose writing.*

Note. I know no such group as our author speaks of; but as we have seen in fig. 50,[1] a curved line is a Ten.

CHAP. 32. When they wish to draw a woman, who remains a widow till death, they draw a black Dove.

Note. The Vulture, fig. 13, which is more often the word *Mother*, is also *Widow;* as with us, the Queen-Mother is the Queen-Widow. Moreover, in Coptic, the words *Mother* and *Solitary* are nearly the same.

CHAP. 41. When they wish to signify a man that caught a fever and died from a stroke of the sun, they draw a Blind beetle.

Note. This is a good instance of how our author blunders about the meaning of a group, without quite understanding it. The Scarabæus rolling up a ball of dung between its feet, as in fig. 51,[2] is one hieroglyphic for the *Sun*, or *Ra*.

CHAP. 56. When they wish to signify a King that governs absolutely, and shews no mercy to faults, they draw an Eagle.

Note. The eagle and globe, fig. 52,[3] is the usual title of a King. The eagle is an *A*, the globe is the sun, *Ra*, making the word ⲟⲩⲣⲟ *king;* and with the article prefixed, the well known word *Pharaoh*.

CHAP. 57. When they wish to signify a great Cyclical Renovation, they draw the bird Phœnix.

[1] Fig. 50, Voc. 676. [2] Fig. 51, Egypt. Inscript. pl. 29.
[3] Fig. 52, Voc. 406.

Note. We have a coin of Antoninus, as fig. 53,[1] with the word ΑΙΩΝ, *the age* or *period*, written over an Ibis with a glory round his head. This was coined in honour of the end of one Sothic period or Great Year, and the beginning of another. On each of these occasions, the Ibis or Phœnix was said to return to earth. In hieroglyphics, the Palm-branch, fig. 1 and fig. 9, is the word *Year;* and the bird seems to have that meaning from the similarity of sound between ⲂⲀⲒ, *a palm branch,* and ⲀⲠⲞⲒ, *an ibis.* In Greek, the fabled bird seems only to have obtained its name Phœnix from *φοινιξ, the palm branch.*

Chap. 72. When they wish to denote a man that *passes fearlessly through the evils which assail him, even until death,* they draw the skin of an Hyena. For if a man clothe himself in this skin, and pass through any of his enemies, he will be injured by none, but pass through without fear.

Note. The skin of an Hyena, as fig. 32, is hung before Osiris in the judgment scene, when the dead man is brought to his trial. And again, on the funereal tablets, we sometimes see the deceased clothed in an Hyena's skin.[2] Either of these may have given rise to our author's remark.

Chap. 73. When they wish to signify *a man skilled in heavenly matters,* they draw a Crane flying.

Note. Fig. 54[3] is the word *High-priest,* in which the flying Crane is the first syllable.

Chap. 115. When they wish to signify a prolific [or a generous] man, they draw a House Sparrow.

Note. Fig. 55[4] is the word Great, of which the first character is a Sparrow.

[1] Fig. 53, Zoega's Numi Ægypt.

[2] Egypt. Inscript. 72.

[3] Fig. 54, Voc. 202.

[4] Fig. 55, Voc. 582.

CHAP. 116. When they would signify *a man that is constant and uniform,* they draw a Lyre.

Note. The character, fig. 56,[1] is the word *Like;* but it is doubtful whether it is a musical instrument.

CHAP. 118. When they wish to signify *a man that distributes justice equally to all,* they draw the Feather of an Ostrich.

Note. Fig. 57[2] is the God or Goddess of Truth. The letters are *MO,* forming the word ⲙⲏⲓ *true.*

CHAP. 119. When they wish to signify *a man that is fond of building,* they draw a Man's hand.

Note. Fig. 58[3] is the word *to set up.*

[1] Fig. 56, Voc. 447.
[2] Fig. 57, Egypt. Inscript. 67.
[3] Fig. 58, Voc. 925.

SAMUEL SHARPE.



Samuel. Sharpe.

A VISIT TO THE RUINS OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF NAUCRATIS, AND TO THE SITE OF SAIS, IN THE DELTA OF EGYPT.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT OF

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READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1844.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S. &c., in the Chair.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF NAUCRATIS,

AND

TO THE SITE OF SAIS.

In a voyage up the Nile, in the month of July, between Rosetta and Caïro, we landed at the village of Sa-'l-Hadj'r, then the scene of great festivity, from the celebration of a village fair. This has been fixed on as the site of the ancient Sais, in the French maps, though Arrowsmith has, with greater accuracy, placed that city farther within the Delta. Niebuhr had visited the same village, without assigning to it the site of any ancient city; but Rennell has reconciled it to that of Naucratis, upon the following arguments :—

"Sah, the site of the ancient Sais, stands, according to Mr. D'Anville, at five miles to the east of Lebben, a position in Mr. Niebuhr's chart. Strabo says, that 'Naucratis stood at two schoenes, by water, from Sais ;' and as the latter lay *inland*, to the east, from the Canopic River, but the former *on* that river itself, the water passage must have been by a canal crossing the Delta ; and as the canals at present run to the north-west at that very place, Naucratis should have been to the north-west of Sais, and about eight miles from it."

Again : "Naucratis, by the Theodosian Tables, is fifty-six miles from Alexandria towards Memphis ; and, as this road must also be supposed to lie through Rahmanieh (taken for Hermopolis), Naucratis should be twelve miles beyond Hermopolis, towards Memphis. In other words, Sais and Hermopolis should be twenty Roman miles asunder, of which twelve are between Hermopolis and Naucratis, eight between

the latter and SAIS; and the construction founded on the above mentioned data allows twenty-two such miles, which is sufficiently exact for the purpose in hand. NAUCRATIS should then be one hundred and three miles, by the road, from MEMPHIS, and the construction actually allows one hundred and one. This position of NAUCRATIS falls precisely at SA-'L-HADJ'R, about twenty-eight geographical miles above Rosetta, at the east side of the river, within the Delta." *

This reasoning, like that which Major Rennell in general offers upon disputed points, is such as needs neither comment nor addition; and to me appears highly satisfactory. If, then, it be so, in point of distance and position only, his arguments will derive additional strength from the existence of such remains as could have been only those of a celebrated and opulent establishment; and proofs of these are not wanting.

Mr.Niebuhr says: " On voit encore aujourd'hui de grands monceaux de ruines, près de SA-'L-HADJ'R, dans le Delta. Le nom de ce village est un nom Arabe: mais la ville, qui autrefois le portoit, doit avoir fleure dès le temps des anciens Egyptiens. Je vis à BULAK un grande coffre de granît, chargé d'une multitude de caractères hiéroglyphiques; on l'avoit transporté de SA-'L-HADJ'R. J'y fis un voyage exprés de KAHIRA, sur ce que l'on m'avoit assuré, qu'il y avoit encore beaucoup de monuments anciens et superbes. Mais je n'y trouvai que les *indices* d'une grande ville, dont je viens de parler, et quelques colonnes de la même figure, que Norden et Pococke ont dessinée dans la Haute Egypte, et dont les pauvres habitants de ce village avoient étayé leurs maisons. Je me contentai de dessiner la pierre que je trouvai devant un prefoir à huile. Quelques figures hiéroglyphiques, dont cette pierre est chargeé, font preuve, qu'elle a été taillée par les anciens Egyptiens. Elles étoient engravées, comme tous les autres caractères de cette espèce, que j'ai vus sur des pierres, mais les figures du milieu etoient en relief." †

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* Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, 4to. p. 530.

† Voyage en Arabie. Vol. I. p. 78. Utrecht ed. 1776.

In our examination of the village of Sa-'l-Hadj'r, which, as Mr. Niebuhr observes, is an Arab name, and signifies literally "a heap of stones," we found sufficient reason for that appellation in its present state; and doubted not but that, on the original application of it, the ruins on which it was founded were much more extensive than at present. At this moment, around the skirts of the modern town, are scattered fragments of granite columns, mounds of destroyed buildings, and other vestiges of antiquity, which extend to some distance; and, in visiting the mosques, where the largest and best-preserved masses are generally found, we observed portions of sculptured stone that had evidently entered into the construction of a temple, hewn into the form of square pillars, and surmounted with Greek capitals to support the cross-beams of these chequered buildings. Besides these, the thresholds of all the doors of entrance were formed of similar fragments; and the sculptures, both on these and on the square hewn columns, contained the usual subjects of hieroglyphics—priests, offerings, sacred animals, &c. At each of the mosques, we found also that, the cisterns for ablution were formed of yellow marble sarcophagi, in a good state of preservation, but without sculpture, though most decidedly of ancient Egyptian execution.

Strabo attributes to the Milesians the foundation of the city of Naucratis, after they had established themselves near the mouth of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, in the reign of Psammetichus; and Herodotus, when describing Amasis as being very partial to the Greeks, and favouring them upon every occasion, says, "Such of them as wished to have a regular communication with Egypt he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. Formerly," continues he, "this was the sole emporium of Egypt: whoever came to any other than the Canopian branch of the Nile was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was, in the same vessel, obliged to go thither. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta

to NAUCRATIS;"—a restriction which Rennell has aptly compared to that of our Canton establishment in China, when it was the sole port of that great empire at which the Europeans could land their goods.

The ancient historians have related many facts illustrative of the state of society in Lower Egypt at this period: I propose to allude to one or two.

Among other traits of character which Herodotus gives of Amasis, this founder of the first Greek settlement in Egypt, is the following remarkable anecdote:—"This king," says he, "made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, to cement which, he determined to take a wife of that country, either to shew his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus; by others, of Arcesilaus; or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, Amasis, it seems, suspecting his wife of witchcraft, thus addressed her: 'You have certainly practised some charm to my injury: expect not, therefore, to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death.' When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed in the temple of Venus, that, 'if the Goddess would counteract her husband's wicked designs, and restore her to his favour, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene;' whereupon, her wishes were accomplished: the wrath of Amasis subsided; and, ever afterwards, he distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus: it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Egypt, was, as soon as it was discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene."

The same author, Herodotus, describes the courtesans of NAUCRATIS as generally beautiful, the most famous of which was Rhodopis, who, says he, "was so universally celebrated, that her name is familiar to every Greek." She was indeed

the greatest beauty of her age, even to a proverb; and it was by her that the pyramid, spoken of by Diodorus Siculus as being, "though less in size and extent to the others, superior to them in the costliness of the materials and excellence of the workmanship," was, by some, supposed to have been erected.

The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo:—"It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha. She was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to NAUCRATIS Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt. Others called her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day, when she was in the bath, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to MEMPHIS. The king was then sitting in his tribunal: the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom. The prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at NAUCRATIS, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife. When she died she was buried with honours, and this pyramid was erected to her memory."

Diodorus Siculus says that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expense of some governors who had been her admirers.

Perigonius, in his notes on Eliar, says that there were two persons of this name; one a courtesan, who afterwards became the wife of Psammetichus; the other the fellow slave of Esop, who lived in the time of Amasis.

Herodotus, in giving her history, asserts her to have been born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Esop, who wrote fables, and was also the slave of Iadmon. Rhodopis was first carried to Egypt by Xanthus, of Samos, whose view was to make money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus becoming free while she afterwards continued in Egypt, her

beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid.

The race of Naucratian beauties had, however, sadly degenerated; for among the Arab women we saw here, most of them were singularly deficient in personal charms, with the exception of two only; one of which was a young girl of graceful figure, delicate arms, eloquent eyes, and expressive features, which a consciousness of her own perfections induced her to display to us by throwing up her veil as we passed; and her long blue dress, with bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, and other ornaments, was infinitely more elegant than I had before thought the Arab costume capable of being made. The other was a young wife, of about eighteen, who came running after us as we were leaving the village, with antiques to offer us for sale. Neither my friend nor myself were at first disposed to purchase; but jestingly telling her that we might be tempted if she would display her face, she threw aside her veil without a moment's hesitation, and certainly surprised us both by the exhibition of a clear, smiling, and beautiful countenance; after which, we could not of course decline to buy her wares.

On leaving the village of Sa-'l-Hadj'r, we passed through all the mirth and revelry of the fair which was celebrating, and had an opportunity of witnessing the dancing-girls, musicians, and jugglers of an Egyptian festival, as gay in their exhibitions as any of the feasts of Naucratis could have been, but without the splendour and elegance which must have marked the entertainments of a city whose females were renowned throughout the world for their beauty, whose splendid temples, obelisks, and statues, dedicated to the worship of the Hellenic Goddess, must have increased, by their attractions, the number of their votaries; but of which every trace is now destroyed, except the few scattered fragments which remain to tell the wondering passenger how low the pride of the mightiest may be reduced.

When we set out together in company from Alexandria, I had intended making a tour across the Delta, and returning to Caïro through the upper part of the Sharkieh, visiting all

the places of interest in the route; and in this excursion my friend had promised to accompany me; but finding land journeys in Egypt less agreeable than he had expected, he was by no means disposed to fulfil his engagement; at the same time, pressing me so warmly to abandon the intention for the present, or at least postpone it until the cooler air and more verdant beauties of winter should render it more inviting, that I was at length forced into a promise of accompanying his party, in the canjee of Ali Bey, to Caïro, on condition that while I made my excursion to Sais, the boat was to wait for me at Kafr-el-Lebben, about three miles up the river.

Procuring animals, therefore, at SA-'L-HADJ'R, we rode about five miles inland, in an easterly direction, inclining to the north, over a dusty plain, and halted, near some mounds and scattered ruins of brick pottery, upon the banks of the canal of Hashabi, the bed of which was now perfectly dry. Our guides were unacquainted with any other spot than this in the neighbourhood, where vestiges of ancient settlements could be traced, and the evening was too far advanced for us to extend our researches further; which assurance, with the correspondence of bearing and distance, was scarcely sufficient to satisfy me that what we saw could be all that remained of the wreck of so celebrated and magnificent a city as SAIS is described to have been. Not a fragment of all the proud temples, sphinxes, groves, or tombs, described by the ancient historians as existing in this city, were now to be found; all, perhaps, sunk beneath the mud of the Nile, the waters of which yearly inundate this spot, and all traces of the foundations even of the public buildings are thus obliterated by the plough in the cultivation of the surrounding plains.

Among other circumstances which tended to the celebrity of the ancient city was, its being the burial place of many distinguished characters, particularly of Apries and Amasis, the former of whom, according to Dr. Prideaux, is the personage called in the Scriptures "Pharaoh Hophra," who lived about the period when the Prophet Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem and shewn the different kinds of idolatry then

practised by the Jews. The outline of his history, as given by Herodotus, informs us that he succeeded his father Psammis, the son of Psammetichus, made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in a battle by sea; but having been unsuccessful in an expedition against the Cyrenians, he was deposed, or revolted against, by his subjects. Amasis, whom he sent to soothe those malcontents, suffered himself to be crowned by them with a helmet, and afterwards headed their party as their king.

At the head of 30,000 Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, Apries departed from Saïs, where he had a magnificent palace, and proceeded against Amasis, who commanded his rebel subjects. They met and fought at Momemphis; and although the despised king still thought his authority too permanent to be shaken even by a deity, he was conquered, and taken in captivity to Sais. Here he was confined in the palace, formerly his own, but now that of Amasis, who continued to treat his prisoner with great kindness, until the importunities of the people obliged him to deliver him up to their power, when they strangled him, and buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, "which," says Herodotus, "stands on the left side of the vestibule of the temple of Minerva. In this temple," continues he, "the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province; but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building than that of Apries and his ancestors."

The decided manner in which the Greek traveller speaks of the principal edifices of Sais leaves no doubt of his having visited the city during his stay in Egypt. Alluding to the temple of Minerva, he says, "In the area before this temple, stands a large marble edifice, magnificently adorned with obelisks in the shape of palm trees, with various other ornaments: in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to specify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone: it is of a circular form, and, as I should

think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochœides. Upon this lake are represented, by night, the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their mysteries." *

The historian mentions, then, some anecdotes illustrative of the character of Amasis, the successor of Apries, which are extremely curious, particularly the stratagem which he used of transforming a certain golden vessel into the statue of a god, to elucidate his claim to reverence, though of plebeian origin; and his reply to those who reproached him with unbecoming levity, as derogatory to his kingly dignity. "This prince," says he, "thus regulated his time. From the dawn of day until such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table, where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some of his friends remonstrated. 'Sir,' they observed, 'do you not dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities? From your awful throne you ought to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs; and, by such conduct, increase the dignity of your name, and the veneration of your subjects. Your present life is most unworthy of a king.' 'They,' replied Amasis, 'who have a bow, bend it only at the time they want it: when not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed; it would otherwise break, and not be of service when exigence required. It is precisely the same with a man. If, without some intervals of amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigour both of mind and body. It is the conviction of this truth which influences me in the division of my time.' "

Of this Amasis it is asserted, that, whilst he was in a private condition, he avoided every serious occupation, and gave himself up entirely to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had

* Herodotus "Euterpe," 170.

recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and neither offering them presents nor sacrifice: this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice, he reverenced as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem; —a conduct which has been very aptly compared by Beloe to that of our young Prince Harry, so beautifully elucidated by Shakspeare.

"In honour of Minerva," continues the same historian, "this prince erected at Sais a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphinxes of enormous magnitude. To repair this temple, he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantina, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, was most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantina, constructed of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, an entire period of three years. The length of this structure, on the outside, was twenty-two cubits; it was fourteen wide, and eight high. In the inside, the length of it was twenty cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It was placed at the entrance of the temple. The reason it was carried no further is this—the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it, for which reason it was advanced no farther."

Not a vestige of all this magnificence, bestowed on Sais by the most liberal monarch Egypt ever enjoyed, the donor of its most superb temples, the founder of its Grecian colonies, the institutor of some of its best laws, and the sole monarch under whom the Egyptians could boast of twenty thousand cities well inhabited,—not a fragment of the splendour with which he embellished this his favourite seat now remains. Time, that effectual destroyer of the most colossal works, has no doubt been the chief, because the most unceasing, agent of its destruction. Yet the splendid remains of Thebes and other ancient cities may be admitted as proof that time alone could hardly yet have rendered its annihilation so complete. It is stated that Cambyses, the Persian, when only ten years old, had been urged by his mother's complaint of being neglected by Cyrus for a supposed daughter of Amasis, to exclaim, " Mother, as soon as I am a man, I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt." It is probable, therefore, that in order to perform his vow, he would vent the first efforts of his vengeance against the monuments of him on whose account he was chiefly instigated to the war; more particularly when Amasis himself, against whose living person he would have been so glad to direct his fury, had died a natural and tranquil death before Cambyses had advanced to Egypt, having, during the whole enjoyment of his power, in a long reign, experienced no extraordinary calamity, and being, at his death, embalmed and deposited in a sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva. The history of this expedition and march across the Syrian Deserts; the battle of the hostile armies near Pelusium; the subsequent surrender of Memphis; the trials inflicted by Cambyses on the captive family of Amasis; and the subsequent death of the son who then filled his father's throne; are all descriptions of that devastating spirit by which the Persian conquerer was actuated: but more particularly the dastardly act of wreaking his vengeance on the dead, in which he had not even the poor plea that Achilles might have urged for his ignominious treatment of the brave and injured Hector, when he drew him, at his chariot

wheels, around the walls of Ilium, upon the field of battle, and before the boiling anger of the fight in which he vanquished him might have subsided; for the Egyptian king had lain in peace within his tomb before ever his dominions were invaded.

Herodotus thus relates this outrage:—"As soon as Cambyses had entered the palace of Amasis, at Sais, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression. When they were therefore fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned; in which last act, Cambyses even disregarded the religion of his country; for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity."

The destruction of the tombs, the palaces, and the temples themselves, would seem to follow as a matter of course from the hands of so enraged an avenger, whose whole conduct could only be accounted for, by considering him as deprived of his reason; but if the edifices which Herodotus describes existed at the time of his writing, which seems, from his manner of description, to be implied, their destruction could not *then* have taken place; although the succeeding events of war might have assisted towards their overthrow and demolition. Of this, at least, I am persuaded, that some powerful cause must have operated, conjointly with time, to sweep away every vestige of a magnificence so great as that of Sais.

On leaving this instructive scene of utter desolation, the impressions which I had so often felt before, when treading on the rased foundations of fallen greatness, were renewed with increased force, and occupied me in our silent ride to the banks of the Nile.

It was considerably past sunset when we reached the village of Kafr-el-Lebben, where my impatient fellow-travellers awaited my return. We supped together on board. The canjee having spread the lofty lateen sail to a fresh northern

breeze, and favoured by the moon, we continued to stem the current of the Nile until we brought up at Shaboor, in a midnight calm.

The fatigue of the preceding day being recruited by sweet sleep, we were stirring at four o'clock. The morning calm was delightful; and immediately opposite to the Scala at which we were moored, were fine continued groves of palms and sycamores, whose reflection on the clear surface of the stream presented a beautiful picture.

After bathing in the Nile, we made an excursion round Shaboor, which has been marked as the site of the ancient Andropolis, though it presents no vestiges from which one might infer its former consequence. In the course of our walk, we frequently halted to enjoy the shade of some fine groups of trees by which the village is surrounded, and, in passing through the town itself, visited an Egyptian school. The blind master desired to feel the palms of our hands and foreheads, from which he was polite enough to infer our being good and sensible men, and insisted upon our taking a morning cup of coffee with him, and hearing his pupils read. The last we would willingly have dispensed with, were it not that refusal would have been an unkind return for the favour of the first: we therefore did both, and were much pleased. Leaving our slippers at the door, we entered, also, two of the village mosques, both of which were neat, simple, and clean.

Departing from thence at nine o'clock, when the northern breeze sprung up, we continued to advance up the Nile, passing Salamoon and the smaller villages on either side, until we brought up for half an hour, at Negeely, on the western bank, a town not included in Arrowsmith's map, although larger and more populous than either Shaboor or Salamoon. Along the borders of the river, tobacco appeared to be the chief cultivation at that season.

In the evening, one of the crew, a grey-bearded old man, personated the deity of Lampsacus; and having his turban taken from his head, it was formed into a ceinture for his waist; then, regardless of all decency, he commenced a dance characteristic of the divinity, singing, at intervals, the

leading stanzas of an Arab song, while the rest of the crew who surrounded him, formed a species of response, by singing and clapping their hands in chorus. This was not the first occasion on which I had remarked the vestiges of ancient usage still preserved among the Egyptians of the present day. I had before noticed them in many instances; and this was also unquestionably a remnant of those very mysteries formerly celebrated at Saïs upon the lake, in honour of the certain personage whom Herodotus did not feel himself at liberty to mention.

We had anchored on a sand-bank in the middle of the stream, at night, and the breeze being favourable in the morning, we made sail at day-light, passing Zaera, and Tanoop, the ancient Tana, on the eastern, and having the Desert soon afterwards descending to the water's edge on the western bank of the Nile.

On entering the reach of Nadir we had to tow against the wind and current, from its lying in nearly a north-east direction. We were desirous of passing from hence into the Canal of Menouf, and thus shortening, as well as varying, our route to Caïro; but at this moment there was not sufficient water for the purpose. We therefore continued our course up the river, passing Terraney, the ancient Terenuths, and Woordaun, both on the western bank; above which, soon after noon, the wind shifted suddenly to the eastward, and increased the heat to an oppressive degree, from which we all suffered considerably.

We reached the southernmost point, or apex, of the Delta about four o'clock, where is the village of Kafr Mansoora, not marked in the map; and, soon afterwards, passed the small islands which begin first to divide the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, the whole cluster bearing the singular name of Bain el Bachara, or the "Belly of the Cow." The wind freshening, and veering round to the northward at the same time, our progress was rapid; and we passed Shoobragh, the seat of the Pasha, at sun-set, and landed together at Boolac, the Scala of Caïro, at about eight o'clock.

JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.

NOTICES OF ABYSSINIA,

AS HISTORICALLY CONNECTED WITH

EUROPE, SYRIA, AND THE HOLY LAND;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A FEW SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO THE SOURCES AND COURSE OF THE NILE.

BY

CHARLES JOHNSTON, Esq. M.R.C.S. F.S.E.S. &c.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, APRIL 1, 1845,

WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c., IN THE CHAIR.

NOTICES OF ABYSSINIA,

AS CONNECTED WITH

SYRIA AND THE HOLY LAND.

Abyssinia, a remote country of intertropical Africa, has only become a subject of popular interest since the publication of the travels of the celebrated Bruce. Previously, it had only been the subject of curious inquiry as to its identity with a certain Prester John's country, which, according to monkish legends, existed in some unknown part of the world, and where it was generally believed the primitive Church of Christ, as established by the Apostles, was preserved in its original simplicity and purity of faith.

The attention of the learned of Europe had been directed to Abyssinia, as the probable seat of this hidden Church, by the discoveries made during the expedition sent out in search of a passage to the East Indies more direct and convenient than the one monopolized, to their great gain and emolument, by the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and which corresponded, in a great measure, with that of our present overland route.

Landing on the coast of Africa, near the mouths of the Zaire, or Congo River, the Portuguese Commander was surprised to hear of a country in the interior, whose inhabitants were represented as adoring the Cross, and performing many religious ceremonies similar to those which they themselves practised. Now, although it can be easily shewn that considerable intercourse existed from the earliest times between the Abyssinian nation and the Pagan empire, and subsequently, when the latter, converted to Christianity, was, in a general sense, designated "the Church of Rome;" still, we cannot feel surprised that, in the then state of geographical

knowledge, the identity of the African Christians, spoken of at Benin, with the Abyssinian Church, was not perceived by the Portuguese discoverers, or that they should have considered it to be an entirely distinct and separate nation, and which, in accordance with the prejudice of the age, might readily have been supposed to be the country of Prester John, rather than the ascribed Asiatic Christian country, of which continent Abyssinia was then considered to form a part.

In 1487, the practicability of a passage to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, being no longer problematical, the Portuguese sovereign naturally desired to be better acquainted with the geography of the shores of the Eastern Seas. To further this object, he despatched two ambassadors by way of the Red Sea, Covilham and de Payva, one of whom was directed to enter Abyssinia, the other to explore the coasts of India. De Payva died on the Red Sea; but his companion, after proceeding to Calicut and Goa, carried out the full intentions of his sovereign. By re-crossing the Indian Ocean, and reaching the Continent of Africa, he penetrated to Abyssinia, from which country he transmitted home much interesting and valuable information. It is impossible to say whether Covilham was constrained by force, or induced by favours shewn, to remain in Abyssinia: all that is *known* for certain, being, that he was conducted to the remote southern province of Shoa, where he lived several years, and ultimately died there.

From his time, however, Abyssinia and its Church became the subject of much learned discussion in Europe; and its conversion from heresy to the all-sufficient Catholic faith was made a grand object with the Church of Rome. The agent she employed to effect this was the Court of Portugal, then an enterprising commercial state, and one of the most powerful of the European kingdoms. At that time, it accorded well with the policy of the Portuguese Government, to obtain influence among, if not possession of, those countries which were presumed to be, by their situation, well adapted to forward these ambitious views with respect to the conquest of the East Indies, which was then contemplated. With this

subject, however, we have this evening nothing to do. So far it was necessasy to comment upon the previous relations of Abyssinia with Europe. But it is only since this critical period, that a correct knowledge of Abyssinia, and of the Christianity professed by its inhabitants, has been acquired; and it is principally from writers of about this time that all compilers of modern works upon the Abyssinian Church, have derived most of their information, and to whom I am also indebted myself for whatever knowledge I possess upon the subject: for, although once a visitor to this interesting country, such is the confusion of doctrines and religious schisms, that it would be an impudent imposition did I attempt to give the principles of any systematic or uniform belief as being, at the present day, generally professed in Abyssinia. I do not believe, indeed, that even the present Bishop, or, as he is called, the Abune Salame, himself holds, for two years together, the same articles of faith, but rather that he adapts his creed to the exigences of opinion that characterize the very differently-believing Potentates who recognise his spiritual charge, and whose annual presents to their religious Superior depend considerably upon the conformity existing between them upon points of religion.

We derive our information concerning the most ancient historical connection of Abyssinia with Judæa from the annals of the former country; and, in this instance, so general is the national belief of its truth, and so exact the apparent authorities upon which the opinion is founded, that the learned of Europe, although far from being satisfied with its correctness, have not presumed to question the truth of the relation, although it admits of being easily proved to be an error of the rankest legendary tradition. Our own history by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which our origin is traced from the Trojan refugees, is gospel, in my opinion, to the account which derives from a son of Solomon and the renowned Queen of Sheba the present dynasty of Abyssinian Kings.

We are told that Menilec, the first Emperor of Abyssinia, was one result of the far-famed journey to Jerusalem made by the Queen of Sheba to test the sagacity of the wisest of

Israel's Kings. That Solomon did receive such a visit is beyond doubt, confirmed as it is by the account contained in the Old Testament. Sheba, the Abyssinians say, is the ancient name of Shoa, the word having submitted to certain modifications in sound by the operation of some dialect-dispersing principle, upon which is founded far stranger transmutations of ancient names, and which are, with great difficulty, recognised in their modern guise. Thus the *Hebe* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and the *Eve* of our sacred history, are identical with the *Hour* of Arabic and Oriental records; whilst *Ahwe*, the serpent god of the ancient Abyssinians and Gongas, is none other than the circling river *Abi* which surrounds their country.

Modern geographers, however, contend that the Sheba of the Scriptures is the Arabia Felix of our maps. In some parts of the holy writings, the celebrated Queen of this country is designated, not as of Sheba, but of the South; and as the situation of Arabia, with respect to Judæa, is in that direction, so far they have good authority for not conceding to Abyssinia the distinction of being considered the kingdom of which such honourable mention is made. Another corroborative evidence of Arabia Felix being the Sheba of the Bible, is, the circumstance that its name, Yemen, or "the right," signifying also the south, is the exact term employed to designate the possessions of the Queen of Sheba. Again, it should be observed that the interpretive meaning of "Menilec," the name of this presumed son of Solomon, signifies nothing more or less than "the same as myself"; that is, I think, that the party so called was the Deputy or Viceroy of some powerful Monarch; and such I believe to have been the title of the Governor appointed over the Abyssinian provinces, and which, at the period of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba's reigns, formed part of the kingdom of the latter. I have been led, therefore, to suppose that Menilec was originally merely a title indicative of rank, and which, like the term "Pharaoh" in Jewish history, had improperly become employed in their records as the proper name of one monarch, when, in fact, it was a general title for all. Perhaps the Menilec of Abyssinian regard

might have been some ambitious governor, who found it convenient to repudiate the authority of his Principal, took upon himself the sovereignty of his province, and established the dynasty of its present Kings.

Considerable light might be thrown upon this subject by the publication of the cotemporary annals, not only of neighbouring independent states or people, such as the Wurge or Adjows; but also of the Persian records of their earliest monarchs, which, at the present, remain buried in the royal libraries at Ispahan and Teheran. The Abyssinian Adjows are the descendants of the aborigines of the country, and differ considerably, in descent, from the Amhara or red people, being, by their appearance, language, and habits, proved to belong to the Gongas or the yellow Mongolian people, who once occupied nearly the whole of the continent of Africa. The Adjows inhabit the fastnesses of the hills of Lasta, and they have traditions and written records tracing the descent of their monarch also from the illustrious Queen of Sheba; but the account they give of this lady's progeny differs very materially from that contained in the Amharic annals; for she, they say, was delivered of a girl, who was called Solomina, in compliment to her reputed father. Let us hope that, at no very remote period, some adventurous traveller will undertake a journey to this interesting people, for the purpose of obtaining all the information which may be extant on a subject of so much importance for illustrating our own Biblical records of the same remote age to which they relate. In the meantime, my only authority for mentioning this discrepancy between two national records, is derived from conversation with Dr. Beke, who, during his return home from Gojam, passed through the country of the Adjows, and obtained some valuable information relative to their early history. The learned world wait, with some impatience, the more detailed account it is in this gentleman's power to give.

Dating their connection with Jews, and their knowledge of the Mosaical law, from the time of Solomon; in the same spirit of national self importance, the Abyssinians assert that

they received Christianity direct from the Apostles, St. Mark and St. Thomas being the agents of their conversion. Another tradition, however, which has been made to accord more with evidence afforded by the relation contained in the New Testament of the baptism of the servant of Candace, states, that the Empress herself, on the return home of the Christian convert, consented to receive the new religion in her kingdom, and, with her subjects, was accordingly baptized. This legend has certainly some appearance of probability; and if it could be shewn that Abyssinia at that time was a dependency of Upper Egypt—the Ethiopia of the Bible—then it might readily be supposed that Abyssinia did receive her Christianity from that source.

What we learn from our own Church history regarding the introduction of our religion into that country is, that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, one Meropius, a Christian philosopher, going to India with two scholars, touched on the coast of Abyssinia. Here, it seems, he was killed; and the two boys, Frumentius and Œdesius, were taken to Axum, the seat of government, as presents to the Emperor. From the circumstance that Frumentius was made a duptera or scribe, we may suppose his education was somewhat advanced. Œdesius was made a servant in the kitchen. That they were slaves is certain; for we find that, on his death-bed, the Emperor gave both their liberty, with permission to leave the country. They were prevailed upon, however, by the Queen-Regent, to remain in Abyssinia, to educate her sons; and that they obtained considerable authority in the government, is proved, by the protection they afforded to the Christian merchants residing in the ports of Abyssinia, who were directed to pray and worship as they ought to do, without fear. Having finished the education of their charge, Frumentius and Œdesius left Abyssinia, and proceeded to Alexandria, where the former was prevailed upon to return to Abyssinia in the character of Bishop; whilst the latter, we are told, "gave up travelling, and went to live with his relations." Ruffinus, however, from whom

this account is derived, informs us that he had the whole story from the mouth of Œdesius himself, who was then ordained a Presbyter of the Church at Tyre.

When Frumentius undertook his second mission to Abyssinia, no less celebrated a personage was Bishop of Alexandria than Athanasius. He it was who consecrated Frumentius to the duties of the new See: so we may safely presume that he was orthodox in his belief on his return to Abyssinia. At this time, however, the Arian controversy in the Church was at the highest; and the question of supremacy—for it was a struggle for nothing else—was principally between the Emperor Constantius and the Alexandrian bishop, Athanasius. The former was the great champion of the heresy of Arius, and ultimately overcame his ecclesiastical opponent, who was driven from his See, excommunicated, and died, a miserable fugitive, in one of the western States of Northern Africa. His pupil Frumentius was more fortunate; for, in the remote Abyssinia, he was enabled to set at defiance the intrigues of the Emperor, who had sent emissaries with letters to the then sovereigns of that country, Abia and Azba (Aizana and Saizana), directing them to send back Frumentius, that he might be examined as to his principles by the Venerable George, and other Egyptian Prelates; and promising that, if they were satisfied with his creed, they would re-ordain him Bishop of Abyssinia, which, under the existing circumstances, he was considered not to be entitled to. No attention, however, was paid to these spiritual demands, either by Frumentius or the princes; and, for a time, the Church of Abyssinia may be said to have been as orthodox as the See of Rome itself.

The next historical record connected with the reception of the Christian Religion, at a very early period, by the inhabitants of Abyssinia, is the arrival, in 480, of nine holy men from Egypt, whom the Portuguese travellers of the sixteenth century represent to have been all Dominican friars, forgetting that this order was not established until the middle of the fifteenth century, nearly one thousand years after the death of these Abyssinian Fathers.

With the exception of this, no circumstance of importance occurred between the reigns of the Emperors Constantine and Justinian that would connect Abyssinia with the seat of the early Churches of our religion. In the reign of the latter, however, we are told by Metaphrastes that one Elesbean, a Christian king of Ethiopia, invaded Arabia, and vanquished a Jewish tyrant, who had cruelly persecuted the Christians in that country; but this is stated by Geddes, in his *Ethiopian Church History*, to be a tedious, blind story, not fit to be offered to any reader that has not a legendary nose. All such traditions, or, if you please, historical fables, have some foundation upon truth; and this very Abyssinian invasion of Arabia forms a very interesting historical episode to introduce here, especially as the recent decipherment of the Himyaritic inscriptions make the date of it to coincide with the very period to which the following expedition is referred.

About the year 530, Justinian engaged in war with the Persians, and sent one Julian as ambassador to the king of Axum, then the seat of government of the Abyssinian Empire, and where, it will be recollected, inscriptions in the Himyaritic characters are known to exist. Julian was also directed to proceed to the Himyarites on the opposite coast of Arabia, who, being Christians, it was supposed would make common cause against the Persians, the great enemy of their religion. At this time, the king of Axum was Hellesteus, otherwise Elisbean, who, in zeal for the religion he professed, had, a few years before, on complaint of the Christians of Hadhramaút, crossed the Red Sea, with a numerous fleet and army, defeated and killed the king of the Himyarites, and placed Ismetheus, a Christian, upon the throne.

The principal inducement employed to enlist in the cause of the Romans the Christian Powers of Abyssinia and Arabia, was not, however, of so disinterested a character as might be supposed; for we find that Julian, the ambassador, negociated a mercantile treaty with the king of Axum, in which the Romans stipulated to purchase all the silk coming from India they might require from Abyssinian traders. Previously,

this commerce had been entirely in the hands of the Persians; and it may be also observed here, that after all these negociations, it remained with them, as the route through the Indian and Red Seas was more inconvenient than the direct course through the Persian Gulf to the Holy Land, and so to the Mediterranean. Besides, the Persians in the Indian markets, bought up all the commodity, and so retained the monopoly, and defeated the machinations of the Roman Emperor. Julian was equally unfortunate with the Himyaritic monarch; for, although he succeeded in negociating an alliance offensive and defensive, and it was agreed that attacks should be made cotemporaneously on two sides of the Persian Empire, it was discovered, when the attempt was made, that the deserts of Arabia were an insurmountable barrier to the troops of Esimetheus. Not, however, to be idle, the auxiliaries kindly sent by the Ethiopian monarch to his Arabian *protegè*, took the opportunity of seizing upon the country, and deposed the monarch, giving the crown to one Abraham, a Christian, who had been a slave to a Roman merchant at the port of Adal in Ethiopia, the monarch of which, after two unsuccessful attempts to put down the rebellion, was at length compelled to leave Esimetheus to his fate, and Abraham in the quiet enjoyment of the throne.

In this age, so ignorant of the geographical situation of Abyssinia was even the infallible government of the Holy Church, that in 1177, when an embassy arrived from Abyssinia to the Pope in Venice, the Emperor Frederick having driven him from Rome, it was given out that the strangers had arrived with offers of assistance from Prester John, whose country was supposed to be somewhere in Asia, near to the Tartars and Russians, and it was joined in the same mission, and committed to the charge of the Dominican Provincials of Poland, as being its next neighbour. The promulgation of such a geographical error may indeed have been intended as a political *ruse*, to have a salutary effect upon the belligerent Emperor; for, to a purpose of this kind, it is known was turned the circumstance of another Abyssinian mission

to the Papal Court in the year 1300, and which consisted of no less than thirty ambassadors. These reported that their master had seventy-four kings under him, and who, excepting five of the smallest, were all Christians; that he had also in his dominions 127 archbishops, each having twenty bishops under his jurisdiction; all which, says the historian, was a pious fraud spread about by Pope Clement, to encourage the Latins to undertake a new crusade to the Holy Land, they being thus assured of the assistance of this mighty Christian Emperor, whose dominions were represented to lie conveniently for carrying on a war in Syria.

We find an Abyssinian embassy again employed in 1434, to effect a delicate matter arising out of some political exigency that had compelled the Pope (Eugenius IV.) to remove from Rome to Florence; and which, having passed by, he now desired to return again with a good grace to the Holy City. Accordingly, he announced the approach of an embassy from Ethiopia; and under pretence that Florence was a mean city to receive the messengers of such a powerful Potentate, he adjourned the council to Rome; where, ultimately, he received the embassy, and, as stated by the historians of the time, the submission of that Church, and of its Prince Zarah Jacob. But this is shewn by Geddes to be an impudent imposition; for this very Zarah Jacob, when solicited by some Jerusalem monks to make this submission, absolutely refused; and we have this confirmed by the fact, that, 200 years afterwards, his soul was anathematized to the lowest pit of the infernal regions, for his contumacy, by the Jesuits, who entered Abyssinia at that time, and who actually prevailed upon his successor, Sultaun Sagid, to pronounce the horrid curse; and who, however orthodox he may be considered to have been in consequence, could not have had much grace about him to damn his great-grandfather in such a manner.

Of this very Zarah Jacob, however, we possess evidence of his having been one of the most pious, consistent, and benevolent princes that ever reigned over Abyssinia. In his

reign, we first hear of convents of Abyssinian monks already founded at Jerusalem, and which this monarch munificently endowed. One letter of his, to these holy brethren at Jerusalem, I shall read, to give you some idea of his real character, and also as a specimen of the correspondence between a king of kings and the mendicant friars whose wants he supplies.

"Let this come to the hands of my beloved, the College of Saints, who reside at Jerusalem, the Holy City.

"In the peace of the Lord, Amen.

"I do proclaim you very happy for having, in the first place, obeyed the word of God, which saith, 'He that forsaketh not his father and mother, wife and children,' &c.; for which reason you have left the world, and have taken upon you the yoke of monkery. The word of the prophet hath likewise bound you, which saith, 'I will not go into the tabernacle of mine house, nor climb up to my bed, neither will I give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find the house of the Lord the habitation of the God of Jacob.' Whereupon you determined to repair to Jerusalem, the city of the Great King, not being discouraged from going thither either by the incommodities of the journey, or the heat by day, or the cold by night, nor by dangers of robbers; whereby, when you arrived, was fulfilled what was said by the prophet of you, 'Let us therefore go into his house, and worship in the place where the face of our Lord stood;' for to you is given to kiss the place which his presence hath hallowed from his nativity to his ascension. For which cause I do very much rely on your prayers, and on the afflictions you have suffered for God's sake.

"I do salute you from the bottom of my heart, saying, Health to you, sons of Ethiopia, whom the earthly Jerusalem hath tied to herself, that she may convey you to the heavenly one.

"Health be to your faith, which is perfect in the Trinity; and to your course of life, which is like that of angels.

"Health be to your feet, which walk; to your hands, which touch; to your lips, which kiss; to your eyes, which do freely behold Galilee, where God was inanimate; and Bethlehem, where He was born; and the cave, where He lay; and Nazareth, where He was educated; and Jordan, where He was baptized, that He might cleanse us; and Corontum, where He fasted for our sake; and Calvary, where He was crucified for our sake; and Golgotha, where He was buried, and rose again, that He might quicken us; and the Mount Olives, where He ascended to His Father and our God, that He might introduce us into the inner vail of the highest heavens, into which He himself entered, and introduced the Apostles, who were before us; and the oratory of Zion, where the Comforter descended on our fathers the Apostles.

"Health be likewise to your eyes, which behold the light that cometh out of the sepulchre of our Lord on the old Sabbath, to wit, on the eve of the Passover."

Accompanying this letter was a deed of gift, conveying to the monastery of Jerusalem the land of Zebla, and half of all tributes arising from it for two years, which amounted to one hundred ounces of gold. It is stated at length how the donation is to be applied, both for food and raiment, for the monks; and also to celebrate all the festivals of the Virgin which are ordered in the Book of Miracles, and which amounted to no less than thirty-two during the year. Lamps were also to be kept constantly burning at the most celebrated spots in the history of Christ, chiefly those which had become sanctified by his sufferings. The correspondence terminated with an admonition, which breathes the true spirit of the religion of which Zarah Jacob, semi-barbarian as he was, was a bright ornament:—"My beloved, do not you offer to say, Light descendeth only upon us, that your glorying in yourselves be not in vain; since you know evil attends glorying, and blessing, humility. Peace be with you! the peace of our Lord be with you! Amen."

Of the connection, at a former period, of Abyssinia with

Egypt, it is now necessary that I should speak; as subsequent events to the death of Zarah Jacob, and the conflicts of the Abyssinian Church with the Portuguese instruments of the court of Rome, belong to general history, and would require volumes to do full justice to, and to give you a proper idea of, the contentions of the two Church parties that agitated all Abyssinia, from the first appearance of the Portuguese in that country in 1590, until their expulsion by Facilidas, the energetic son of the imbecile, but perhaps well-meaning Socinios, whose indecision led to so much blood being spilled in the unnatural wars occasioned by the endeavours of the Jesuits to establish the Roman faith in Abyssinia.

On the former connection of Egypt and Abyssinia, I shall confine myself to the illustration of the origin of the mysterious religion of the ancient Egyptians, as being probably derived from certain physical features of the surface geography of Abyssinia, so singularly coincidental in their character with what I believe to be their typical representatives in Egypt, that little doubt exists in my mind, from whence was derived the worship of Apis and Serapis, the chief gods of Egyptian mythology. Here let me observe, in the first place, that the genius of the Greek language required the terminal to be added to words of foreign origin; and that, accordingly, the Egyptian pronunciation of Apis and Serapis was Api and Serapi. This is no assumption of mine to suit foregone conclusions, or any particular theory, but a recognised principle with classical authors, and who, in fact, are my authorities, since I do not myself pretend to any critical knowledge of Greek.

Abyssinia, as is now pretty generally known, stands like an island in a dried-up sea—a vast table-land, some ten or twelve thousand feet high above the level of the sea, and having its own system of rivers, its own lakes and watersheds, distinct from those of all the surrounding country.

The course of the Abi, or Bruce's Nile, through Northern Abyssinia, is too well known to require any description; but of the unknown southern portions of this country, unvisited

by any modern traveller, we are of necessity compelled to speculate; and it is here, accordingly, we find that great differences of opinion exist among those who have visited the neighbouring countries, and have therefore acquired some right to form conjectures of their own, founded upon the information they received, and their capability to discriminate and judge correctly. The problem will be solved some time or other; but, until the question of the geography of Southern Abyssinia is set at rest by actual observation, the opinions of all travellers, erroneous or correct, are deserving of equal attention; and I have therefore ventured to form conjectures upon this subject, assisted no little by the statement of Herodotus regarding the belief of the ancient Egyptians as to the sources of the Nile.

I must here observe, that it is generally admitted that the western branch of the Nile, termed by us Bahr-al-Abiad, was altogether unknown, or, at least, unrecognised as a part of the sacred river. It was not until long after the publication of Bruce's Travels that it was laid down even in European maps; and it is charged against that traveller, as one sin of omission amidst a multitude of others of commission, that he did not give publicity to what, from his Journal, he was evidently well acquainted with — the junction, above Sennaar, of this river with the main stream of the Nile, and, indeed, a much larger branch than the one, the sources of which he had been visiting. Merely observing that, after all, Bruce has been more sinned against than sinning, I return to the consideration of the Abyssinian Nile, or Bahr-al-Azzareek of our maps; which, from circumstantial evidence, would appear to be the chief origin of the religion of the Ancient Egyptians, in fact, the god of their idolatry. River-worship, let me observe, is the national religion of nearly two-thirds of our fellow-subjects at the present moment; and as, in India, the streams that bestow fertility to the land, and competency to the inhabitants, are made the objects of adoration; so this superstition characterized the religion of the ancient inhabitants on the borders of the Nile.

Of the sources of this celebrated river, Herodotus states, (on the authority of some priests of the temple of Minerva, in Sais,) that they were supposed to be forty days' journey to the south, in the country beyond Elephanta. He was told, also, that there were two sources; one in the north, flowing from thence; the other in the south, with a course towards the north: and that these, uniting, formed the main stream of the Nile, which then proceeded in its course through Egypt to the Mediterranean.

In Abyssinia, a stream, arising in Gojam, passes through Lake Dembea, bends to the south, then to the west, until it falls off the table-land, after encircling Damot, and, under the name of the Bahr-al-Azzareek, joins the Nile. The true name of this is Abi, signifying "father," and has ever been, and is now, the chief god of the Pagan Adjows living on its banks. Bruce, it will be recollected, speaks of the altars that existed, and the sacrifices of oxen which, in his time, were occasionally celebrated at its sources. The Bahr-al-Azzareek is unknown under that name in Northern Abyssinia; but, in the south, we find the Zibbee or Gibbee, the sources and course of which is the great geographical problem of that unvisited country. In the Zibbee, however, I perceive the elements of the name Assabi, which I believe to be the true name of what is erroneously called Azzareek in our maps. Azzareek, as one word, let me inform you, positively is an error: it is properly two words, *azza* and *arogue*, which, together, signify, "the old red," and, with *abi*, as *assaabi arogue*, would signify "the old river of the red," meaning, of course, the red people, as we call the Red Sea from its being among the Assyrians, or red people, and as the Arabs call the Mediterranean the White Sea, because it is in the midst of the countries of the whites. It is curious, also, to observe, in the same ethnological system of names, that what we call the Indian Ocean is termed by the Arabs "the Sea of the Blacks," or Negroes.

The *Assa arogue* of the inhabitants of Sennaar, from some fancied resemblance to a Turkish word, is interpreted on our

maps the Blue River, whilst there can be no doubt—and I risk my reputation as an observant traveller upon the assertion—that it is the Nile itself which derives its name from this circumstance, *nil*, or indigo, abounding upon its banks, and the colour of which, *blue*, was typical of all things sacred in emblazened hieroglyphics. Again, this very word *assa* can be shewn to signify a very different colour—red; for independent of the Scriptural name Esau, notoriously derived from this colour, the name Amhara, indicative of modern Abyssinia, bears no other interpretation than that of *red people*, and is a mere translation of the word. These were the Assyrians of history, and they inhabited an extensive tract, including Arabia, and all the country around the western sources of the Nile.

It is necessary for the exact correspondence of the reputed sources of the Nile, according to Herodotus, that a branch proceeding from the south, should unite with that from the north of the Abi, to form the river of Egypt; and accordingly, when in Abyssinia, I made particular inquiries as to the course of the Zibbee or Gibbee, and was at length satisfied that this represented the southern branch. I was confirmed in this when I found every preceding traveller had received similar information, but who were unable to reconcile it with their ideas of two opposite watersheds, which they conceived the northern and southern parts of Abyssinia opposed to each other; that is, the level, sloping in different directions so as to throw the waters of the north to the north and west, whilst those of the south were directed to the south and west. On the contrary, I have attempted to demonstrate, from an analogy of continuity, that the same abrupt termination of the table-land characterizes the country to the south as to the north; that the surface is one continuous plain; and that, instead of two watersheds, we ought to consider Abyssinia as presenting a shallow basin, which concentrates the water from all points of the circumference, to one break from off the table-land, to the low country surrounding it. In that case, the Zibbee or Gibbee drains the country to the south,

passing between Enarea and Kuffah, then bending towards the north it receives the Abi of Northern Abyssinia, and both fall together from the table-land, and receive the common name of Azzareek, or, more properly, Assabi.* †

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

* Pliny tells us that Assabinus was the Jupiter of the Ethiopians. Now the *nus* or terminal syllable of this word, like the sigma or *s* of the Greeks, was necessary to adapt it to the Latin tongue; and we have here, I think, a direct proof of the connection of this river Assabi with the chief object of Ethiopian worship; for no one can deny the identity of the two names—the Assabinus of Pliny and the Assabi or Assa of modern Abyssinia. From Assabi, Serapi the Egyptian god is readily and naturally derived; whilst, again, Api, another of these deities, is evidently none other than the river Abi of Northern Abyssinia: and in these two streams, we have, I believe, at once, the mythological sources of the mysterious Nile, according to Herodotus, and also the origin of the two principal gods among the ancient Egyptians, the god Api and the god Serapi.

† The Council are indebted to Mr. Johnston for an interesting coloured model of Abyssinia, made, according to a scale, under his own superintendence. This the reader will do well to consult, as it affords an admirable illustration of this very interesting subject. It may also be observed, that the accounts recently received from Mr. Abbadie, from Abyssinia, seem fully to confirm the correctness of Mr. Johnston's views concerning the geography of the country.


HADHRAMAUT
or the COUNTRY of the
CATABANI AND CHATRAMOTITAE
OR CATHRAMONITAE
OF THE ANCIENTS
by
WILLIAM PLATE, L.L.D.
Pt. .... Ptolemy.
Him. Ins. .. Himyaritic Inscriptions.
Lake Salomeh
Lar R. Pt. said to flow into and to discharge itself into the Persian Gulf (El Aftan)
WADI DOWASIR
Bisheh R.
Wadi Kasr
Wadi Rakhie
El-Ahkaf
Bahr el Saffi
Sand Gulf (Fons Stygis)
Him. Tomb
Sava (Thabba Pt.) Residence of the Queen of Sheba or Saba who visited Solomon.)
Hora
Wadi Amt
Wadi Hajarin
Wadi Kasr
WADI DOAN
Gädun
Seif (Prion or Ptolemy)
Vodona Pt.
Wadi Doan
Grein (Doan)
Khoreibeh
Chatramotitae
HADRAMAUT
Yellow Plateau of great elevation
M. Kar-Seban
M. Drora 8000
Mt. Sidara 4000
Juba Pt.
Marimatha Pt.
Thabana Pt.
Are the only Towns mentioned by Ptolemy that were situated in the interior of the tract between Yemen Hadhramaut and Oman.
Dhafar (Sapphar Pt.)
Wadi Missile
Kubr el Hud
Keshin
Sohud
Sheikhawi Him. Ins.
Ras Sharma
Dis Him. Ins.
Makallah
Mariaba Máreb (formerly believed to have been the residence of the Queen of Sheba. Him. Ins.)
WADI MAREB
W. Redeh-el-din
W. Webbene (Him. Ins.)
Hota (Kubr-el-Hud of Niebuhr)
W. Haggar
Nakab-el-HajarRs. (Mapha Pt.)
W. Maifah
Catabani
Jebel Ghorab
Homeritae
Bir el Hessi
Husan Ghorab Him. Ins.
Aden (Arabia Emporium)
J. & C. Walker Sc.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMARKS

ON THE

PROVINCE OF HADHRAMAÚT;

WITH A REVIEW OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

INTO SOUTHERN ARABIA AND CHINA.

BY

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&c. &c.

PART I.

WITH A MAP OF HADHRAMAÚT.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1845,

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., in the Chair.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO HADHRAMAÚT.

When I first claimed the honour of addressing the Society on the subject of Arabia, it was my intention to speak not only of the introduction of the Christian Religion into the Province of Hadhramaút, but also of the religious history of other parts of Arabia, and to take into consideration many particulars relative to the state of civilization in that country, especially during the first centuries of our era. I was not then aware that Mr. Wright, who preceded me, intended to enter upon this very important question.* That gentleman, however, having anticipated much of what I intended to say, I now find it necessary to modify the subject. Instead, therefore, of recapitulating the leading facts in the history of the various tribes which have, from time to time, peopled the great continent of Arabia, and the geographical relations of adjacent territories, which it was, perhaps, essential also to keep in view, in order fully to understand the subject, I will proceed at once to the consideration of the state and progress of Christianity in the *Province of Hadhramaût* only; and as it is scarcely eighteen months since we received any geographical details of that province which are at all to be relied on, I shall begin by presenting to your view a sketch of the country itself.

The most complete account we have of Hadhramaút is that of the Baron von Wrede, a German Officer, who travelled there in 1843; but this intrepid gentleman was robbed of his papers; and the account he sent to the Royal Geographical Society is so short, and, in many instances, so vague, that it

* Mr. Wright's Paper is now preparing for publication, and will appear as a distinct work.

cost me a great deal of time and study to lay the principal facts down in a map. A map is the true test of all geographical description. In proportion to the difficulty we experience in drawing a map, we have reason to doubt the accuracy of our data; for we can hardly fail to form a correct map when we have sufficient and trustworthy material. The accounts of the eastern geographers on Hadhramaút are very vague; and the task of composing a map, according to them, has baffled the sagacity, the criticism, and the indefatigable patience of the most learned and judicious among modern geographers. I am in possession of a great number of extracts from the writings of Arabian geographers, whose works have never before been printed, and which were made by my excellent and learned friend, Dr. Sprenger, now in Calcutta. I attempted to avail myself of these, so as, if possible, to form a tolerably correct map of this part of Arabia, for General Chesney's work on the memorable Euphrates Expedition, and other subjects connected therewith; but, although among these MSS. there is one from the pen of Ibn Khordádbeh, who held the office of Postmaster-General under the earlier Khalifs, I am sorry to say that, with regard to Hadhramaút, his accounts, too, are no less scanty and vague than those of the other Arabian geographers. We must consequently rely upon the Baron von Wrede more than upon any other writer.

The name of Hadhramaút is sometimes given to the whole of the immense tract of land which lies between Yemen in the west, and 'Omán in the east; but, there is reason to believe that the term applied originally only to the western part of that tract, or "Hadhramaút Proper." The name, in its larger meaning, seems to refer to the countries which once formed the Himyaritic Kingdom. It is not my intention to speak of this at present: my purpose is to describe "Hadhramaút Proper."

The Province of Hadhramaút is bordered in the west, by Yemen, and in the east, by the province of El-Sheher, commonly, but erroneously, called Mahra, because it is inhabited by the tribe Mahra. In the south, it is washed by the Indian Sea, and its northern boundary is the famous wilder-

ness El-Ahkaf. According to most of our maps, Hadhramaút is not contiguous to Yemen, but separated from it by two extensive tracts; one of which, the sandy El-Yáffa, lies in the south, and the other, the fertile Belád-el-Jóf, or the district Jóf, lies in the north. But we ought to assign these two tracts to Hadhramaút. That El-Yáffa belongs to it there can be no doubt; and as to Jóf, there is a proverb of the Arabs, which says that "those who go to Máreb (which lies in the Belád-el-Jóf) ought to know the Himyaritic language." It is true that Niebuhr attaches the Belád-el-Jóf to Yemen; but we know, on the other hand, that Máreb was, in former times, one of the principal, and, during some time, *the* principal seat of Himyaritic power. Hadhramaút extends nearly 600 miles from west to east, along the coast of the Indian Sea; and its greatest width, between the sea in the south, and the wilderness of El-Ahkaf in the north, may be calculated at from 200 to 280 miles.

The Belád-el-Jóf, and especially the Belád-el-Yáffa, seem to be sandy table-lands of considerable elevation; but the remaining eastern and larger part of Hadhramaút is a mountainous country, having a complete alpine character. The country rises in terraces, and becomes higher in proportion as the traveller advances from the coast to the interior. These terraces are formed by several parallel chains (consisting chiefly of granite and porphyry), which stretch from west to east. Between the chain nearest to the coast and the sea, there is a narrow tract of sandy low land; but, in some places, the mountains approach the sea. The mean elevation of this chain seems to be between 1800 and 2000 feet, but some portions are considerably higher. It is intersected by numerous deep valleys and gaps, through which the traveller ascends the second terrace. At about 70 miles from the coast, north-west from the sea port Makallah, rises Mount Sidara to a height of about 4000 feet; and on its summit, about a mile asunder, stand two rocky peaks, each 800 feet high, between which, winds the road from Makallah to the Wadi Dóán. North-west of Mount Sidara, one terrace rises above the other; and a day's journey distant from that mountain, the traveller, the Baron

von Wrede, found himself at an elevation of about 8000 feet above the sea. There towers the Jebel Drora to an unknown height; and east of it, Jebel Kar Seban, a colossal peak that is visible from a great distance. The ridges, of which these mountains are the highest summits, consist mostly of iron sand-stone, overlaid by a sand-stone of a fine granular texture, and very hard. South of Mount Drora, the eye wanders over a labyrinth of dark granitic cones; but north of it, is an immense plain, of a yellowish appearance, a colour which originates probably from the plain being covered with fragments of iron sand-stone. This plain, which is of considerable width from south to north, and extends to a great distance from west to east, is the high table-land of Hadhramaút, and produces nothing but a few acacias and shrubs. The mountainous alpine tract, however, is very fertile and highly cultivated wherever the rock is covered with a sufficient quantity of mould. The upper parts of the mountains are covered with those aromatic plants for which the country was renowned as early as the time of Solomon; but its myrrh and frankincense are now far from being of superior quality. Aloes, gum, and dragons'-blood are among the chief products of the mountainous tract; and large quantities of them are exported from Makallah, and other sea-port towns, to Maskát and the ports of India. As to coffee, we may suppose that it produces less than Yemen, though perhaps it is not inferior in quality.

The immense yellowish table-land of which I have just spoken, is intersected, in some places, by deep ravines, through which the water flows in the rainy season towards the lower parts. It is evident that the slope of the table-land is towards the north, a fact indicated by the existence, in these northern parts of Hadhramaút, of a deep and extensive valley, the celebrated Wadi Dóán.

Among so many obscure points referring to the geography of Arabia, none has excited the curiosity of our Orientalists so much as the Wadi Dóán. While the native writers unanimously praise its fertility and its flourishing cities, they differ much as to its situation; or, at least, they described its geo-

graphical position in such a manner as to mislead the most distinguished of our travellers. Thus, Niebuhr, in all other respects unrivalled in accuracy, places the Wadi Dóán by some hundred miles too far to the north-east, in the midst of El-Sheher; but Seetzen, whose name would doubtless, ere this, have been no less bright than that of Niebuhr, had he not been murdered by the Bedouins—Seetzen knew its exact position; and the correctness of his opinion is now corroborated by an eye-witness, the Baron von Wrede.

The Wadi Dóán has its origin at about 16° 10′ N. lat., 48° 10′ E. long., in the yellow and barren table-land described above. On advancing from the south, the traveller suddenly entered a deep gap in the rocky soil; and, on descending, found himself in a narrow valley overtowered on both sides by steep and craggy rocks. A stream of running water flows through the valley, which becomes gradually wider. Gentle slopes lead from the banks of the river to the bordering rocks; and on these slopes, towns and villages rise contiguously, in the form of an amphitheatre. This upper part of the Wadi Dóán is called Wadi Nebbi: it soon widens to an open plain, covered with forests of date trees, and presenting all the appearance of a most fertile and highly-cultivated tract. The portion of the valley below the Wadi Nebbi is, properly speaking, the Wadi Dóán. In this upper part, are the towns of Khoreibeh, Grein, and Seif, all thriving, well populated, and governed by Sultan Mohammed 'Abdullah-Ibn-Isa-Ibn-Ahmed. The portion below the Wadi Dóán Proper is called Wadi Hajarin; and it appears that this valley is joined in the north by another, which is likewise called Hajarin, and which begins, under the name of Wadi Amt, at two long days' journey distance north-west from the Wadi Nebbi. The Wadi Amt, with its continuation, the Wadi Hajarin, is, without doubt, the main branch of the Wadi Dóán, in the larger meaning of the word; and that main branch is no less fertile, and no less covered with flourishing villages and towns than the southern minor branch. Below the Wadi Hajarin, the valley is called Wadi Kasr; and it reaches the sea under the name of Wadi Missile, near the village of Sähüt, in 15° 14′ N.

lat., 50° 11′ E. long., and not far from the sea-port of Keshín. The origin of the Wadi Dóán, as I have mentioned above, is about 16° 10′ N. lat., 48° 10′ E. long., whence it is evident that its general direction is from north-west to south-east; but it seems to describe a curve, running, at first, north with both its branches, though only for a short distance, then east, and finally, south-east. We learn, from the Baron von Wrede's account, that the town of Kubr-el-Húd is situated in the lower portion of the Wadi Dóán, namely, the Wadi Missile. Until now, it was generally believed that that celebrated town was in the western part of Hadhramaút; and accordingly, it is so placed in our best maps. Niebuhr was told by the Arabs in Yemen that Kubr-el-Húd was in the neighbourhood of Keshín; but he gave more credit to the statement of a native of Ainád, who told him that it was in *Western* Hadhramaút. It is, however, strange that the Baron von Wrede also speaks of a town called Kubr-el-Húd, which we are obliged, by all the circumstances, to look for in Western Hadhramaút. I think there is no difficulty in admitting that there may be two towns of that name, one in the east, the other in the west*, just as we have a Wadi Kasr in Eastern Hadhramaút, and another Wadi Kasr in the western part of that country. This appears the more probable when we remember that Kubr-el-Húd is a famous place for pilgrimages, being the town where the great prophet Húd was buried; and since pious people have always been anxious to have the tomb of a great saint within their own walls, some Arabs might have erected the tomb where Húd actually died, whilst others, in their pious zeal, built him a tomb or monument where they believed he had been interred. Húd was renowned as one of the chief converters of the infidels in Hadhramaút. He is mentioned in the 7th chapter of the Korân (entitled "El-Ahráf," that is, the "Partition between Paradise and Hell") where it is said, p. 122 (ed. Sale), "Unto the tribe of Ad we sent their brother Húd. He said, 'O my

* Perhaps in the Wadi Nebbi, the correct name of which seems to be وادي نبي "Wadi Nebíi," or "The Valley of the Prophet" (Húd ?).

people, worship God! Ye have no other God than him; will ye not fear him?' The Chiefs of those among the people who believed not, answered, 'Verily we perceive that thou art guided by folly, and we certainly esteem thee to be one of the liars.' He replied, 'O, my people, I am not guided by folly, but I am a messenger unto you from the Lord of all creatures.'" Húd is likewise mentioned in the 46th chapter of the Korân, entitled "El-Ahkaf" or "the Wilderness," meaning the great wilderness north of Hadhramaút, which still bears that name by preference:—"Remember the brother of Ad*, when he preached unto his people in 'El-Ahkaf' (and there were preachers before him and after him), saying, 'Worship none but God. Verily, I fear for you the punishment of a great day.' They answered, 'Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from the worship of our gods? Bring on us now the punishment with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity.' He said, 'Verily the knowledge of the time when your punishment will be inflicted is with God, and I only declare unto you that which I am sent to preach; but I see ye are an ignorant people.' And when they saw the preparation made for their punishment, namely, a cloud traversing the sky and tending towards their valleys, they said, 'This is a traversing cloud which bringeth us rain.' Húd answered, 'Nay; it is what ye demanded to be hastened; a wind wherein is a severe vengeance: it will destroy every thing at the command of its Lord.' And in the morning *nothing was seen besides their empty dwellings.*"

The Wadi Dóán was known to Ptolemy, who calls it the river Prion; and the same geographer mentions the town called Vodona, near the upper part of that river. This name is evidently the Greek form of either وادي دوان or ال دوان, namely, the town of Dóán, the name of the principal town in the *Wadi* Dóán.†

The north-western part of Hadhramaút presents extraordi-

* That is *the Prophet Húd.*

† "*Ptolemy's Knowledge of Arabia, especially of Hadhramaút and the Wilderness El-Ahkaf.*" By William Plate, LL.D., &c. London: Taylor and Walton. 8vo. 1845.

nary features. It is an elevated table-land bordered by the wilderness El-Ahkaf. The seam of this wilderness along the northern boundaries of Hadhramaút is described as an awful desert, but it is not entirely impassable, as the traveller says. For, although he says so in one passage; in another, he describes the Wadi Rakhie as *crossing that seam* from south to north: and we know, besides, that the people of Hadhramaút used to go to the fair of Dowásir, which lies north of their country, and whither they could not go *without crossing that desert.** On this subject I need only add, that the *seam of El Ahkaf* is called Bahr-el-Saffi, the "Sea of Saffi," or perhaps Barr-el-Saffi, the "Desert of Saffi." Our traveller has given an interesting description of it in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. The portion of the Bahr-el-Saffi which stretches along the north-western corner of Hadhramaút deserves, however, some remarks. It was there that the traveller found those fearful sand gulfs in which King Saffi is said to have perished with his army, and which still seem to be filled with quicksand to an unfathomable depth. The situation of these sand gulfs is about one thousand feet lower than the adjacent table-land, east of it; and the whole tract is probably made up of an immense mass of rocks cleft and broken in every possible direction by one of those extraordinary revolutions or convulsions of nature which are said to have changed the aspect of this part of Arabia. The fact of this rocky tract being considerably lower than the table-land east of it, induces me to believe that the crevices and narrow valleys between the rocks were gradually filled up with sand carried thither by the wind from the higher table-land, till, at last, the rocks completely disappeared under the sand, except some of the higher peaks, which are now seen rising above the surface. Thus, we have submarine mountains, the lower portions of which are under water, whilst the summits and peaks, rising above the sea, form as many islands or cliffs, between which a ship may safely sail, if steered by a skilful hand. I am inclined to believe

* See the author's description of "Arabia" in the Supplement to the Penny Cyclopædia.

that there is water at the bottom of the sand gulfs, which winds its way through the subterranean valleys, carrying with it large portions of the sand, and appearing on the surface of the lower regions, as the sources of rivers. There is, however, no probability of the sand gulfs ever being emptied through that sort of drainage, since the decomposition of the rocky soil of the high table-land creates an abundant supply of sand, or rather of stone powder, which the wind of course carries continually down to the lower regions. The rapid decomposition of rocks in very elevated tracts, in southern latitudes, is a well-known fact: the high table-lands of Thibet, for instance, are covered with a brown dust, which consists of atoms of rocks, and is carried by the wind, in great quantities, into all the lower parts of the country.

An accurate account of the tract which I have here attempted to describe, is of great importance as regards the hydrography of Arabia. South of this district, the water flows towards the Indian Sea; and it seems that the "Wadi Maifaah," which was visited by Lieutenant Wellsted, is the principal outlet. The river near Máreb, which is fed by the streams which take their rise at the eastern foot of the Yemen chain, flows south of the Saffi quicksands to the east: it apparently directs its course towards the Wadis Hagger and Giswel, which are the northern parts of the Wadi Maifaah. The river of Máreb seems, consequently, to empty itself into the Indian Sea, which also collects the waters of the Wadis Webbene and Reid-ed-dín, the origin of which may be traced some distance south-west of the beginning of the Wadi Dóán. The principal part of Hadhramaút is engirded, then, by two valleys of considerable magnitude, viz. by the Wadi Dóán in the north and east, and by another valley (to which no general name has yet been assigned) in the west: the latter is formed by two branches, one (the principal) coming from the mountains of Yemen, and the other branch from the high table-land of Hadhramaút Proper.

Hadhramaút is consequently an isolated mountainous region, having all the features of an alpine country, surrounded on three sides by sandy tracts of low land, the altitude

of which, however, is considerable: so that, if the whole Province of Hadhramaút could be seen *à vol d'oiseau*, it would appear to the eye of the beholder as an elevated rocky island standing in the middle of a sea of sand,—the whole being girded by a belt or plain, which is washed in the south by the waves of the Indian Ocean. The orographical features of Hadhramaút resemble much those of Abyssinia; and it would seem as if the two countries were united previous to the great convulsion which tore Arabia and Africa asunder, leaving, as an everlasting monument of its extent and power, the deep longitudinal gap which is now filled with the water of the Red Sea.

The similarity between the nations which inhabited the two continents is an additional proof of this opinion; but the question of the Himyaritic nation and inscriptions has so often been mooted in this Society, and by gentlemen much abler than myself, that if even I should have deemed it expedient to resume it, feelings of respect and diffidence would, I confess, have made me shrink back from such a hazardous and difficult undertaking.

Christianity was introduced into Hadhramaút at a very early period. In the works of the Fathers, and other early ecclesiastical writers, we find many facts referring to the Church of Hadhramaút, or ἡ Ἐκκλήσια τῶν Ὁμηρίτων "the Church of the Homeritæ" who were one of the principal nations in that part of Arabia, although they occupied only a small portion of the country which is now called Hadhramaút. But, as the Homeritæ were celebrated in history, their name was given to the inhabitants of the entire region in which the Himyaritic tongue was spoken; just as, in our days, the inhabitants of Great Britain are always called, in foreign countries, Englishmen, whether they be Irish, Scotch, or English. The same writers call the inhabitants of Hadhramaút sometimes Sabaei, from the famous town of Saba, and the people of Hindostan or India, "Indi" without regard to any particular district or province. St. Bartholomew is said to have preached the Gospel in these parts of Arabia, as early as the second century; and shortly after him, or perhaps with him,

one Pantænus, a priest of Alexandria, displayed great zeal in propagating the Christian Religion there. When, in the beginning of the fourth century, Arius denied the divine nature of Christ, and caused a schism in the Church, the Hadhramaútians espoused his doctrines; and although the Emperor Constantine the Great, at the instigation of Georgius, Patriarch of Alexandria, sent thither one Theophilus, a native of Hadhramaút, who was charged with bringing them back to the orthodox creed, they still adhered to the errors of Arius. Theophilus went on a similar mission to Abyssinia; but there, also, he was unsuccessful. The Bishops of Hadhramaút resided at first at Nagra, or Nagrane, in the northern part of the country; and afterwards at Taphar, now Dháfar, on the Indian Sea. A Bishop called Paulus died in the beginning of the sixth century, during the reign of the Christian King Aretha, the same who, after having been killed by the Jewish King Dunaan, was made a Saint, and is mentioned by the Fathers as St. Aretha the Martyr. King Dunaan, who took possession of the royal town of Nagrane, tried to convert the inhabitants to the Jewish Religion: and many of them died the death of martyrs. To avenge the murder of King Aretha and the massacre of his Christian brethren in Hadhramaút, Eleesbam, King of Abyssinia, fitted out a powerful fleet, and landed an army in Arabia, where he killed the Jewish usurper of Nagrane, and defeated his adherents. He appointed one of his own followers to reign as King in his stead; but his choice not being approved of by the inhabitants, they rose in arms, drove out their Abyssinian master, and put one Abraham on the throne. After some negociations, King Eleesbam of Abyssinia recognised the new King; and so far was he from shewing any resentment, that he assisted the Hadhramaútians in their endeavours to obtain a new Bishop and new Priests through the Emperor Justinian I. From this we must conclude that the majority of the inhabitants had then renounced Arianism. Justinian was favourable to their wishes, and requested the Patriarch of Alexandria to nominate suitable persons to these important functions. In the beginning, Hadhramaút was always subject to the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchs of Alexandria;

but this state of things ceased with the Hadhramaútians adopting the errors of Arius, and the Patriarch gladly seized the opportunity to re-establish his former authority. He proposed Joannes, Priest, at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria; and accordingly, the Reverend Father, notwithstanding his advanced age of 62, conformed himself to the wishes of his Superior, went to Hadhramaút, and took up his seat at Dháfar on the Indian Sea. With regard to these events, there are great discrepancies among the writers. Theophanes, for instance, says that " St. Aretha was slain in the fifth year of the reign of the Emperor Justin I (A. D. 523); and that in the sixteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian I. (A. D. 543) Adad, King of the Exumitæ in Abyssinia, who was a Jew, made war upon Damian, King of the Homeritæ, because the latter had forbidden Roman merchants who traded between Abyssinia and Hadhramaút to pass through his dominions. Adad made a vow that he would adopt the Christian Religion, if God would grant him victory over the Homeritæ. He obtained the victory, killed and deposed Damian, was baptized, and now sent a deputation to the Emperor Justinian to obtain a Bishop and Priests for his conquest." The story is quite in the taste of Theophanes, who is known for his love of the marvellous. I have followed the views of Le Quien on the subject.

The successor of Bishop Joannes was Gregentius, who is said to have been a native of Milan in Lombardy. Gregentius was a very learned man. An old MS. containing an account of his famous disputation with the Jew Herbanus is extant in the former Coislin Library (which is now united with the Royal Library at Paris): it contains, also, sixty-five laws and regulations concerning the Church of Hadhramaút, which were issued by Gregentius. King Abraham died after a reign of thirty years, and Gregentius died soon after him, during the reign of King Serbidus, the son and successor of Abraham.

In the beginning of the seventh century, the inhabitants of Hadhramaút adopted Nestorianism, and made themselves subject to the Nestorian Catholicus at Seleucia. At this time, both their political and religious existence was threatened

by the rising power of Mohammed; and in A. H. 9 (A. D. 630-31) they sent an embassy to him, which was headed by their Bishop Abú-l-Hareth, or Harethus, who met with a favourable reception. Mohammed dismissed the Bishop with rich presents, but warned him not to preach against the doctrines of the Korân. When the Khalif 'Omar, who reigned from A.H. 13—24, (A.D. 634—644,) set out for the conquest of Persia, which was then governed by Yezdegerd, Jesuiab II., the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia, and Suidas, the Christian Prince of Hadhramaút, offered him great presents, and concluded a treaty with him, by which the Khalif bound himself to respect the neutrality of the Christians of Seleucia and Hadhramaút.

Shortly afterwards, however, the Mohammedan Arabs turned their arms against Hadhramaút, and the Christian Religion was outrooted for ever in one of its earliest homes. If we believe a story told in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, the Christian Religion was not subdued till after the reign of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-Málek, who sat on the throne from A.H. 66—86. (A.D. 685—705); for, at that time, a deputation from India arrived at Alexandria, and requested the then Patriarch, Simon, to give them a Bishop. The Patriarch having refused to comply with their wishes, because he could not act without the permission of the Emperor (Justinian II., Leontius, or Tiberius III., Absimarus), who perhaps was unwilling to offend the Arabs, the deputies succeeded in persuading Theodore, Bishop of the Gayanitæ, to accept the See of Dháfar. Their way to India led through Arabia; and on the twentieth day after they had left Egypt, they were surprised by some Mohammedan Arabs. One of the Indian priests escaped; but the Bishop, and the other Indian priests, were sent to the Khalif by whose orders they had their hands and feet cut off; and in this state, the Bishop Theodore was crucified, and died on the cross. There is great probability that these Indians were natives of Hadhramaút, which was known by the name of India; for, in those fanatical times, no Christian inhabitant of Hindustán, or even of Abyssinia, would have travelled through Arabia on his

return to his country. Some writers, however, are of a different opinion, because, it is said, in some old Coptic book, that those Indian priests had black faces; whence one of those writers (Le Quien) concludes that they were probably from Abyssinia, or from Ceylon, or the Coast of Malabar. I have not seen the old Coptic book, and can consequently not tell whether the Coptic author in question means *black*, in the actual sense of the word, or only blackish, or of a very dark complexion. And even if they were Abyssinians, they might have been in office in some place in Hadhramaût, where, in those times, the natives would have understood them quite as well as their own countrymen in Africa. They might, however, have been taken prisoners by sea; and certainly the Red Sea presented quite as many advantages to those going to India or Abyssinia, as to those that went to the south-western corner of Arabia. My own opinion is, that those priests were from Hadhramaût, although this country was subdued by the Mohammedans, previous to the accession of the Khalif 'Abdu-l-Mâlek.

Shortly before this subjugation was effected, an event took place which is of the highest importance in the history of the Christian Religion, and of the history of eastern civilization in general. A priest of Nagrane, the Capital of Christian Hadhramaût, was sent by the Nestorian Catholicus to China, to visit the Christians in that country. There was a commercial intercourse between Hadhramaût and India, as well as China, in very early times; and we cannot therefore be astonished at seeing the Christian Religion introduced into China by those who went there for the sake of trading. The fact, however, is so interesting, so important, and yet so little known, that I have made it the subject of some closer investigations, the result of which I hope to have the honour of communicating to you the next time we meet: and I will only observe now, that, among other circumstances connected with the promulgation of the Gospel in the East, there is a Syrian inscription, which was taken from a monument discovered in China; from which we see that the merit of the Syrian clergy for introducing Christianity into that immense terri-

tory, is no less bright, than the pious enthusiasm of those who first brought the Gospel to the banks of the Rhine, the Seine, and the Thames. That monument was erected A.D. 782; it was discovered in 1625; it excited the curiosity of the learned in China; wonder and sanguine expectation at Rome; and a description and explanation of it will no doubt be received by the Society as a fact connected with the history of the East, which is equally calculated to rejoice the pious and to delight the learned.*

WILLIAM PLATE.

* For Dr. Plate's account of the monument here referred to, see the next page.

PART II.—THE MONUMENT OF SI-GAN-FÚ.—EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN ARABIA AND CHINA.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

JUNE 24, 1845,

WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c., in the Chair.

When St. François Xavier, expiring in sight of Macao, turned his dying eye upon the mountains of China, and exclaimed, with feelings mixed with hope and despair, "O rock, when wilt thou open?" he was not aware that the seeds which he came to sow on that rock had been growing there for centuries past; and great indeed would have been his surprise, fair his hope of success, and bright the hour of his death, had he seen, beyond the mysterious clouds that veiled the Celestial Empire, the Cross erected on the rock of Xensi. His fear to be deceived by an illusion would have been removed by another sight no less expected and no less extraordinary; for had he penetrated into the interior of China, he would have beheld Jewish Synagogues, erected by Children of Israel born under the shadow of the Great Wall, and singing Hebrew Hymns in praise of Jehovah! Such, however, was the fact! Soon after, perhaps previous to, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Jewish exiles settled in China; and their descendants remained faithful to the religion of Moses, and kept up the use of the Hebrew tongue down to our days, during nearly two thousand years. It is not thirty years ago since Dr. Morrison heard from a Mohammedan Chinese that a colony of those Jews still existed in the town of Kae-fung-fú, known by the old name of "the followers of the religion of cutting out the sinew," although they call themselves Israelites. The Jesuit Ricci met with a Jew at Peking, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who called upon him, having heard that Ricci worshipped a *single God*, without being a Mohammedan, and who knew that his own forefathers had come from Pales-

tine. This Jew, whose name was Ngai, knew the Hebrew characters, although he could not read them; but several of his countrymen in the town of Kae-fung-fú, in the province of Honan, did not only understand Hebrew, as was afterwards ascertained, but also produced parts of a Hebrew Old Testament. The synagogue of the Jews at Kae-fung-fú was visited, about 1613, by Father Julius Aleni, a Hebrew scholar; and after him, by several other Missionaries, especially Father Gozani, who lived there during the long period of sixty years, and wrote an account of the Chinese Jews, dated "Kae-fung-fú, November 1704," which was published in 1707, in the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses." In 1815, some Jews of London despatched a Hebrew Letter to the Rabbi of the synagogue at Kae-fung-fú, which was given at Canton to a travelling bookseller, who delivered it at Kae-fung-fú to a person who understood the letter well; but the bookseller, being obliged to leave that town unexpectedly, was prevented from taking an answer with him to Canton.*

The fact that Jews brought the Old Testament to China at so early a period, is well calculated to remove the doubts of those who would hesitate to presume that the New Testament was likewise introduced into China at a comparatively very remote time—more than ten centuries previous to the arrival of the Jesuits: indeed, we would be induced to believe the fact, even if we had no positive evidence bearing upon the point. The sons of Syria and Palestine who overthrew Paganism, and propagated the Christian Religion in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Arabia—were they less zealous, less active, and less enterprising than the Jesuits of the seventeenth, and the Protestant Missionaries of the nineteenth century?

Thibet, separated from the rest of Asia by awful deserts and the highest and most inaccessible mountains of the world,

* Cibot: "*Digression sur le tems où les Juifs ont passé en Chine,*" in "*Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les moeurs, &c., des Chinois*": Paris, 1791. Vol. xv. "*Jewish Expositor*": London, 1816. p. 101 *et passim.* Kœglerius: "*Notitiæ S. S. Bibliorum Judæorum in Imperio Sinensi*": Halle, 1805. Sionnet: "*Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine*": Paris, 1837. James Finn: "*The Jews in China*": London, 1843.

became one of the strongholds of Nestorianism; and down to the present day, there are doubts prevailing, whether the similarity between so many rites of the Buddha Religion and those of the Roman-Catholic Church, and the strange analogy between the functions of the Dalai Lama and those of the Pope, are produced through an early influence of Buddhism upon Christianity, or of Nestorianism upon the Religion of Buddha. In the sixth century, Christianity was flourishing in all Persia, Afghanistán, Turkistán, India, and in those remote regions of Central Asia where, in later times, Jenghis Khán pitched his royal tent, when he was preparing the conquest of Asia and Europe. We cannot be astonished at seeing China, also, at an early time, under the influence of the Christian Religion. The consent of Chinese, Arabic, Syriac, Greek, and Latin sources,* proves that the Gospel was successfully preached in the Celestial Empire. As early as the seventh century, Syrian Priests penetrated from Thibet to the northern parts of China: others, coming from more western countries, and preferring the sea to the land, went thither by the port of Canton.

Among so many sources that throw light upon those subjects, I beg to direct the attention of the Society to the Travels of Cosmas, commonly called Indicopleustes, or the "Indian Navigator," an Egyptian monk, who lived in the time of Justinian, about A.D. 535, and who has left us a most interesting description of his travels by sea and by land, as well as of the state of the Christian (Nestorian) Church in India, and other countries of Asia.

I am now proceeding to give you a description of that important monument to which I have already alluded, and which, as you will recollect, I stated (towards the conclusion of my Paper on Hadhramaút) to have been discovered in China, upwards of two hundred years ago. I cannot flatter myself that I shall thereby be able to add much to your store of knowledge: but as many old things acquire new importance

* Assemanni: "*Bibl. Orientalis,*" Vol. iv. "*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions,*" Vol. xxx.

when brought in connection either with new facts or new ideas; and as, at the present time, the learned are assiduously engaged in prosecuting their inquiries concerning the East; I venture to hope that the following observations will be listened to with interest.

In the year 1625, some workmen who were employed in digging out a spot for a new house, in a village near the town of Si-gan-fú, the Capital of the province of Xensi, found a marble stone, resembling a tombstone, since it was nine palms and a half long, by two wide, and being about one palm thick.* On the stone, there was the figure of a cross, and its surface was nearly covered with inscriptions, part of which were written in Chinese, and part in characters which the Chinamen could not decipher. The stone excited great curiosity among the natives; and learned Chinese, from all provinces, flocked to Si-gan-fú in order to see it, and to try to read the foreign inscription. Leo Mandarinus, a converted Chinese, having spoken of this monument in a little book on the state of the Christian Religion in China, Alvares Samedo, a Jesuit, who was then in China, went to Si-gan-fú in 1628, copied the strange inscription, and, with the aid of some of his friends, soon discovered that the characters were *Syriac*. Unacquainted with the Syrian language, they sent a copy of it to Rome, where it was translated.

The Syriac inscription is long: it contains a succinct account of the principal doctrines of the Christian faith, and a short historical sketch of the introduction of Christianity, or the Religion of "Tacyn," (that is *Judæa*,) into the Celestial Empire. One Lo-puen, or Olopuen, it is said there, "*arrived in China in the year called* '*Chen-quon-kien-sú*' (that, is in A.D. 636), *bringing with him the book of the true faith. He was conducted thither by the* '*clouds of the skies*' (namely by the wind); *and while he travelled, he carefully observed the wind, in order to avoid the dangers and obstacles which were on his way.*" We have here our Nestorian Priest from Hadhramaút, arriving

* See Dr Holt Yates' Paper "On the Obelisks of Ancient Egypt" (pp. 17 and 18, Part I of this Volume).

in China *by sea*, after having "well observed the wind," that is, *the monsoons*, by aid of which he performed his voyage. According to this inscription, moreover, "*Christian Churches were seen in a hundred towns*," and the "*Chinese were always ready to obey the Gospel when it was preached to them.*" The Chinese inscription is still longer, and treats on the same subjects; but it contains more historical facts; and from it we learn, that, "*during several centuries, the Christian Religion prospered in China*," but that "*its votaries were persecuted by some Emperors*:" and that, "*in A. D.* 745, *several Christians arrived in China from Tacyn*, (or Judæa), *among whom there was one Kieho, a Priest, who distinguished himself very much for the propagation of the Gospel.*"

Towards the end of the inscription, it is said that "*the stone was erected during the reign of the Emperor Tam, in the second year, called Kien-ciüm*" (that is, in A. D. 782); and that "*at that time Christianity still flourished in the Celestial Empire.*"

At the bottom of the stone, there are several lines in Syriac, which deserve particular attention: the words run thus—

"*Adam, Priest, Archpriest, and Papalis of Zinostán. In the time of the predecessors and ancestors of the father of the Lord Hanan Jesua, Catholic Patriarch* (that is, either of Alexandria, of Antioch, or of Babylon), *in the year* 1092, *of the Greeks, the Lord Jidbuzad, Priest and Deputy of the Bishop of Cundara, the Capital of the Kingdom, who was the son of Milis, and Priest of Belehh, in Turkistán, erected this monument, &c.*"

Under these lines there are the names—

"*Adam, Diaconus, son of Jidbuzad, Vicar of the Bishop.*

"*Mar Sargis, Priest and Vicar of the Bishop.*

"*Sarnishu, Priest.*

"*Gabriel, Priest, Arch-dean, and Principal of the Churches of Cundara and Dazrag.*"

There are, further, the names of about *seventy of the principal Priests*, mostly Syrian names, *who had distinguished themselves in the administration of the Church in China.*

There is one circumstance in these Syrian lines which considerably puzzled the learned in Europe.

You will recollect, that, in the Chinese, as well as in the principal part of the Syriac inscription, it was said that the stone was erected "during the reign of the Emperor Tam," in the second year called "Kien-ciüm" (which corresponds to the year 782 of our era); while in the Syriac inscription, at the *bottom* of the stone, it is said that it was erected "in the year 1092, of the Greeks." Careful observers, however, soon found out that the expression "year of the Greeks" refers to the era which begins twelve years after the death of Alexander the Great, who died in May 323 B.C. That era ought consequently to begin 311 B.C.; but it is generally considered to begin 310 B.C.: and you will see that the year 1092, of the Greeks, corresponds exactly to the year 782, of the Christian era; since, if you subtract 310, the number of years before Christ, from 1092, the number of years of the Greek era mentioned on the monument, there remains 782. There is consequently *no discrepancy* in the dates.

There was a time when *doubting*, from its very necessity, became at once a great virtue and a great vice;—I allude to the eighteenth century: and you will, of course, not be astonished that, at that time, the genuineness of the monument of Si-gan-fú was contested, and that the Jesuits were charged with having *forged it.* The mere fact of a member of that order having first made known to Europe, a Syro-Chinese inscription, discovered in the most mysterious country of the world, was sufficient to rouse several of those eminent men whom Europe admired for the talent they displayed in nursing learning and wit; and the author of "La Pucelle" fearlessly pronounced an anathema against facts, which more modest poets and less witty philosophers generally leave to the decision of historians and scholars. Voltaire declared the monument of Si-gan-fú to be "a pious fraud of the Jesuits"; La Croze, to whom we are indebted for the well-known "History of the Christian Religion in India," professed a similar opinion; and the Marquis D'Argens likewise condemned the monument. This is the same Marquis D'Argens whom Frederic the Great appointed his Chamberlain; and who shewed his gratitude by presenting his royal master with

a French translation of the extant fragments extracted by Cyrillus from the Emperor Julian the Apostate's "Defence of Paganism." It also happened, in our days, that a pious and respectable Missionary pronounced himself against the genuineness of the monument of Si-gan-fú, of which he seems to have read the short description in Le Comte's "Letters on China." *

Names of far greater weight are conspicuous among those who *defended* the genuineness of the monument; and the catalogue of authors who wrote on the subject affords the amusing exhibition of sneering Voltaire and pious Milne displaying their Chinese and Syriac scholarship against the vast learning of Anastasius Kircher, the penetrating genius of De Guignes, the sound criticism of Mosheim, and the profound erudition of Abel Rémusat. Defended as the character of the monument is by such men, I shall not argue the case any further; but merely add, that whatever opinion may be entertained of the Jesuits, I must, *in this case*, speak in their favour; my profound conviction being that the monument in question is genuine. On thus leaving the subject for your consideration, I can, however, not refrain from quoting the words of an historian, who was not the last in rank among the great sceptics of his age, and who had well investigated the history of the monument of Si-gan-fú:—"La Croze and Voltaire," says Gibbon, "were afraid of a Jesuitical fraud, and became the dupes of their own cunning."

Had I intended to make the introduction of the Christian Religion into China the principal subject of this memoir, I would have dwelt longer upon various events connected with that subject, which I am now under the necessity of passing over in silence. Let me, then, bring back your attention to the early connection which existed between the extreme east and the extreme west of Asia.

The ancients knew little more of China than its name; and the voyage of the Nestorian Priest, Lo-fuen, from Hadhramaút to that country, in A.D. 636, is the first instance known

* William Milne: "*Retrospect of the First Protestant Mission to China*, &c." Malacca. 1820. 8vo.

of a direct communication *by sea,* between Arabia and China. The words of the inscription, "*he was conducted thither by the clouds of the sky, and while he travelled, he carefully observed the wind, in order to avoid the dangers and obstacles which were on his way,*" allude too plainly to a voyage *by sea,* to admit of any doubts on that point. The circumstances, however, under which the priest went to China, imply a nearer connexion between the two countries having been established previous to his voyage; for, as he was sent there by the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia, to inspect the state of the Christian (Nestorian) Church, we are obliged to admit, *first,* that there were already Nestorian Christians in China; *secondly,* that the Nestorian Catholicus of Seleucia was informed of the presence of Christians in China; *thirdly,* that those Christians recognised the Catholicus of Seleucia as their spiritual leader; and *lastly,* that the condition of the Christians in China was of such a description, as not only to oblige them to inform their spiritual leaders of it, but also to induce the Catholicus to send one of his priests out on such a long and hazardous expedition. All this required considerable time: and we may fairly presume, that, in A.D. 636, the establishment of the Christian Religion in China was an accomplished fact, and well known at Seleucia, and to the clergy generally in Mesopotamia, in Syria, in Egypt, and in Arabia. The religious connection which existed between China and Arabia was, without doubt, intimately associated with the interests of commerce; and probably owed its origin, in the first instance, to transactions of a secular nature, carried on by the merchants of remote nations: and this we may presume, from the importance of Hadhramaút as a trading station, midway between India and Egypt, and thence further on to Syria and Europe; and from the extensive commercial intercourse which the Bible and other authentic documents assure us *did exist* between the people of some of these countries, in the early ages.

The earliest emporia, in those days, were certain Arabian towns, situated on the coast of Yemen, Hadhramaút, and 'Omán; and among these provinces, Hadhramaút was renowned for its

commercial importance, in the time of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and continued so for many a century. The Egyptians did not trade *directly* to India, till the reign of Ptolemæus Philometor (A.D. 181—145 (141), as we learn from a fragment of the geographer Agatharchides, who also informs us, that, "previous to that time the Egypto-Indian trade was carried on by Arabian merchants, especially those of Saba in Hadhramaút." His account is confirmed by that of Arrian, the author of the "Periplus of the Red Sea," in whose time Maskát was an emporium for all Arabian, Persian, and Indian commodities. This Egyptian-Greek gives us a good idea of the trade with India under the early Roman Emperors. He was a navigator, and sailed at least as far as the Bay of Cambay; and he describes the whole Indian coast as far as the island of Ceylon. This island seems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of the early southern navigators; for even Cosmas Indicopleustes did not sail further in the sixth century of our era. Their reasons for not crossing Cape Comorin are not known to us. The smallness, or imperfect construction of their trading vessels was no obstacle; for a ship able to sail from Arabia, along the coast of India, as far as Ceylon, might as well go round that island, and thence sail up again to the mouth of the Ganges, or down again to the Straits of Malacca. And besides, the expeditions of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians beyond the columns of Hercules, and, still more, to the famous circumnavigation of Africa, contrived by King Necho of Egypt, are sufficient to shew that voyages performed by ships built six hundred years *before* Christ, were not too long or too dangerous for ships built six hundred years *after* Christ.* It would seem, however, as if the ancients refrained from doubling Cape Comorin, because they dreaded to be unprotected in countries quite new and strange to them; where neither the power of the Kings of Egypt, nor that of

* The western coast of America (Fu-sang) was visited by Chinese navigators as early as A.D. 495. De Guignes, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, Vol. xxviii. p. 503, &c.

the Emperors of Rome, and, still less, that of the petty Arab kings of Yemen and Hadhramaút, would have saved them from "avanies,"* and ill treatment.

Scarcely one hundred years after the peaceful voyage of our Arab Priest to China, the sea became at once the high road from Arabia to that country. The inhabitants of the southern coast of Arabia, enticed by the prospect of gain, and excited to enthusiasm by the dogmas of Mohammed, despised the precaution of their ancestors; and, with fleets of armed and unarmed vessels, crossed the high seas, introduced their religion on the Indian islands, and founded lasting colonies on the coast of distant and fabulous China.

Hadhramaút, that unknown, mysterious part of Arabia, is thus brought into connection with the early history of the world. Famous in the time of Solomon, important when the Greeks ruled in Egypt, an object of cupidity to the Roman Emperors, and memorable in ecclesiastical history, but forgotten during a thousand years, it is now resuming its place among the objects of men's thoughts. The historian, the scholar, the geographer, the navigator, and the merchant, will all once more look upon it with equal interest; and the time is fast approaching when, moved by higher and more serious motives than those of curiosity or gain, the statesmen of Europe will cast their eyes upon a country which was not only an emporium of the trade between India and Europe, but one of the most flourishing, powerful, and intellectual countries of the earth.

WILLIAM PLATE.

* Mr. C. F. Barker in his *Memoir on Syria* gives some interesting instances of the present system of avanies in the East. See pp. 5 and 6, Part II. of this Volume.

REMARKS

ON

THE WEDGE INSCRIPTION

RECENTLY DISCOVERED

ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

BY THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ENGINEER,

CAPTAIN VON MÜHLBACH.

BEING A COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN THE ART OF DECIPHERING THE "CUNEATIC" CHARACTERS OF THE ANCIENT ASSYRIAN WRITINGS.

BY

G. F. GROTEFEND, PHIL. DOCT.

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CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY OF LONDON;

&c. &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN,

BY THE REV. HENRY PHILPOTT, M.A.

FELLOW OF CATHERINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE, &c.

WITH A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION.

READ BEFORE THE SYRO-EGYPTIAN SOCIETY,

ON TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1845,

SAMUEL SHARPE, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

INTRODUCTION.

Hanover, *Jan.* 2, 1845.

Dear Sir—

I now hasten to accomplish what I promised to send a month ago. Since, however, it would be too tedious for the readers if I were to communicate my particular judgment respecting all the Inscriptions which Professor Schütz copied near the Lake Van, in Great Armenia, and which were published in 1840, at Paris, in Vol. IX. of the Third Series of the "Asiatic Journal," I have only thrown what was most important into "Remarks upon the Wedge Inscription discovered on the Upper Euphrates by the Royal Prussian Engineer, Captain von Mühlbach."

If these Remarks should be printed, and the accompanying Table lithographed, I have only to request that all the lines between the rows may be drawn at equal distances from each other, and the characters of the eighth row placed closer to each other, while other rows, as the thirtieth in particular, are written more widely apart; so that no row may extend beyond the closing line, and that there may not be too great a gap at the end of a row; because it is usual, in Wedge Inscriptions, to leave a gap rather in the middle of the rows than at the end, and accordingly, the same characters are written sometimes closer together, sometimes wider apart.

Moreover, as several characters bear much greater resemblance to the Inscriptions from Nineveh than from Babylon, I take this opportunity to communicate what Mr. Rich's Secretary in Bagdad wrote to me from Nineveh, in the years 1818 and 1819, respecting the Inscriptions.

I.—*From a Letter of November* 8, 1818.

"A few weeks ago, a man brought Mr. Rich, from Mussul, several fragments of bricks with Wedge Inscriptions, which he had dug up at Mussul, over against the ruins of Nineveh (Nunija, in the language of the country).

"One of the fragments was of fine well-baked clay, varnished yellow, and precisely similar to another fragment which another man brought Mr. Rich last winter.

"Besides these varnished ones, the other fragments are not at all so well baked, and of worse clay than the common Babylonian bricks. The Inscription is not, as upon them, in a hollowed space and upon the broad side, but upon the narrow side: it consists only of two lines, and is evidently written in the third style of writing, for the beginning is [cuneiform]. The perpendicular wedges are commonly an inch and more long. The two varnished fragments have inscriptions of several lines on both sides; but the characters are so small, and in part so much damaged, that I cannot at present say any thing definite upon the subject. The Inscriptions, however, seem to be also of the third style of writing.

"The person who brought the fragments returned lately to Mussul, for the purpose of sending Mr. Rich a marble, one side of which is said to be quite covered with an Inscription, and which he left behind in Mussul when he came here, because of its weight, as he was uncertain whether Mr. Rich would consider it worth the cost of carriage. As soon as it arrives, I shall copy the Inscription upon it, and those of the other fragments; and Mr. Rich will publish them without delay.

"*Nov.* 28. Instead of one marble from Mussul, two have arrived, both fragments; one of a bas-relief, of which only the heads of two male figures remain; the other of a Wedge Inscription in the third style of writing."

II.—*From a Letter of April* 19, 1819.

"I have just finished copying an Inscription from Nineveh: it is written upon an earthen vessel, but without divisions and lines, and consists of sixty-three rows of very small and close writing, which has been received perfect, with the exception of three very short places. Besides this vessel, Mr. Rich also received several whole bricks, and various fragments, from Mussul, most of which have a two-line Inscription on one side. These Inscriptions are, as to subject-

matter, of two quite different kinds. Several of the fragments have Inscriptions, which are written upon the broad surface, and consist of more than two lines: and amongst these also prevails a great difference of subject-matter. But how many kinds there are, I have not yet been able to discover in copying the Inscriptions, which are often very much damaged. The Wedge Writing of Nineveh does not, however, agree so closely with the third Persepolitan and the single Babylonian style as I at first thought; for, although it has a number of characters in common with these two, it contains, also, a great many others which seem to be peculiar to itself; as, for instance, , and others which occur frequently. The last is not, as I at first supposed, equivalent to the Persepolitan and Babylonian ; for this is, as I soon found, constantly written in the Wedge Writing of Nineveh. It writes several characters with one wedge more or less than the Babylonian; as, for instance, for , for , and for . On the other hand, characters which occur frequently in the Persepolitan and Babylonian, are wanting in it; among others, the character for "King," unless, perhaps, the above is to stand for it. I am led to suppose this by the peculiarity in the Wedge Writing of Nineveh, of changing sometimes oblique wedges of the Babylonian and Persepolitan into transverse wedges."

III.—*From a Letter of Sept.* 30, 1819.

"If unexpected circumstances do not detain Mr. Rich, he is determined to take a journey this autumn to the ruins of Babylon or Nineveh. In the latter, according to information sent him from Mussul, are said to have been found some stones with Inscriptions, and several clay vessels (whether these also have Inscriptions is not said), which Mr. Rich wishes to examine. At present, Mr. Rich has only sent the great Inscription from Nineveh to Mr. von Hammer, for insertion in *The Fundgruben.* I now send you the copy of

the two-line Inscriptions which are found upon the sides of the Nineveh bricks. The one is drawn from six whole bricks and two fragments: the wedges upon them are hardly an inch long. Four of the originals had, in the middle of the second line, one character more than the other four, which, in my copy, I represented not filled up. The other is drawn from four whole bricks and two fragments: the wedges upon them are sometimes one inch and a half, and almost twice as great as in the originals of the first. The bricks are commonly thirteen and a half inches in length and breadth, and from three and a half, to four and a half thick.

"CARL BELLINO."

COPY OF THE TWO-LINE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NINEVEH.

I.

II.

Every one will readily observe that the second Inscription is entirely contained in the first, excepting the first and last characters. The place of the first character is occupied in it by two others, and so also with the long transverse wedge at the end. Moreover, the first Inscription has the first half of the second line in addition.

William Holt Yates, Esq., M.D.
&c. &c. &c.

G. F. GROTEFEND.

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* The learned Professor, it will be recollected, was the first to discover a key to the deciphering of the ancient Persepolitan Inscriptions; which, according to the opinion of Mr. Cullimore, in their terminal characters of words, commence a chain of evidence which is continued in the Himyaritic, and concluded in the Abyssinian Inscriptions.

For a further elucidation of this difficult subject, see the Society's "Transactions and Reports" for April 15, 1845, Part I. Vol. I. See also the "Oriental Cylinders" published by the Society.

REMARKS ON THE WEDGE INSCRIPTION

DISCOVERED ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES BY THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ENGINEER, CAPTAIN VON MÜHLBACH.

As I succeeded in correcting the erroneous views respecting the long-known Wedge Inscriptions at Persepolis, so as to make it possible to interpret them, I may be permitted also to lay the first foundation for the future interpretation of the Wedge Inscription discovered on the Upper Euphrates. This Inscription became known to me by the communication of the celebrated geographer, C. Ritter, in the Monthly Report of the Transactions of the Geographical Society in Berlin (1839. Nos. III. and IV.). In the subjoined copy of Mr. von Mühlbach, the beginning of the forty-line Inscription is represented according to the actual form and size of the characters; from which it appears that the writing is larger, indeed, than that of Artaxerxes, but much less than that of Darius and Xerxes, in Persepolis. However faithfully Mr. von Mühlbach seems to have drawn the Inscription, still the form of representation chosen is not so plain to the eye as that in which Professor Schütz drew the Inscriptions discovered by him. I have, therefore, in the accompanying Table, copied Mühlbach's drawing just as Professor Schütz would have drawn it, in order that it may be seen more easily how much alike the writing and the subject-matter of all these Inscriptions is.

No sooner is this similarity recognised, than all the inferences disappear, which Mr. Ritter drew from the supposed want of all *angular hooks*, as they are called; and the opinion of Professor Lassen — who, in the Journal for

Eastern Intelligence (Vol. VI. p. 141), explains these Inscriptions to be more ancient Wedge Inscriptions of the Assyrian kings—is also seen to have little foundation.

On account of these mistakes, the similarity of the Inscriptions mentioned shall be shewn first of all.

This appears at once from the three first characters, which are drawn in their actual form and size in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy; for the word represented by them recurs so often, if not at the beginning, yet at the middle of the Inscriptions, that the similarity of the Inscriptions would be recognised by it, even if Mr. von Mühlbach's copy did not have so much in common with Schütz, No. 42, besides the same beginning and ending, that the careful comparison of it gives the most instructive explanations of the nature of the writing. In the very first character is expressed a peculiarity of the writing, which consists in the avoiding of all intersections of the wedges. For, from the comparison of Schütz, No. 29, with Nos. 33 and 34, the beginning of which I have written in the margin of the accompanying Table, immediately under the beginning of No. 42, it appears clearly that the first character originally corresponded to that with which the third style of writing of the Xerxes Inscription in No. 11, begins; and which, as I have shewn in my New Contributions to the Interpretation of the Babylonian Wedge Writing, corresponds to the eight-rayed character at the beginning of the Babylonian Brick Inscriptions.

Just as, in this character, the transverse wedge cutting the vertical wedge was broken up into two smaller wedges, before and after the vertical wedge; so the same took place with the two transverse wedges at the end of the third character, and the lower transverse wedge of the fourth, fifth, and sixth characters, which two small wedges cut vertically.

In this way, not only all intersections of the wedges disappeared from the later Babylonian Wedge Writing, to which the third Persepolitan also belongs, but all contacts of the several wedges with each other, were avoided so carefully, that even the *angular hooks,* as they are called, were drawn

only like transverse wedges turned to the left, and so sometimes changed by Schütz, as at the beginning of No. 42, for a small transverse wedge. For, that even Mr. Schütz sometimes committed an oversight, and left out, at one time, a small transverse wedge, as in the last character of the beginning extracted from No. 30, and, at another time, even one of the larger vertical wedges, as in the first character of the extract from No. 28, in the margin of the accompanying Table, is shewn by a comparison of the two places. If, now, it be asked why not only every intersection, but even every contact of the wedges with one another was carefully avoided, the answer is readily found in the anxiety of the stone-cutter lest the strokes of the writing should be spoiled by the cracking of the stone; for Mr. von Mühlbach observed several unsound veins which the stone-cutter was obliged to pass over, on account of the cracking, in chiselling the several strokes: and it not only appears, from the comparison of similar Inscriptions, that many of the wedges which Mr. von Mühlbach wrote down in the case of such unsound veins—as, in the first line, the small wedge behind the unsound vein—do not belong at all to the Inscription, but Mr. von Mühlbach even observed several wide gaps in which there seems to have been no writing at all. Now, as, from the way in which the stone-cutter avoided all contacts of wedges, and so put into our hands an excellent method of describing the third Persepolitan Wedge Writing, as well as the first and second, by means of single wedges and *angular hooks*, the higher antiquity of all the Babylonian Wedge Inscriptions in which the wedges intersect frequently, is seen in a way not to be mistaken; so the writing of the Inscriptions discovered by Mr. von Mühlbach and Schütz, differs much less from the third Persepolitan wedge-writing, than the later Babylonian Wedge Writing of documents from the older of bricks: and we may, therefore, assume that it was formed during the Persian dominion, under the last kings.

But, though the single strokes are easily found again in

the Persepolitan Inscriptions of the third species, and still more in the Inscriptions from Nineveh, yet I have not succeeded in discovering similar words consisting of several characters: so that we must infer either a difference of language, or a total difference of subject-matter, or even both at once, though in different degrees.

The character of the Inscriptions themselves leads us to infer a difference of subject-matter; for, although vertical wedges, by which, in the Babylonian Wedge Writing, proper names are usually denoted, occur not unfrequently, as at the beginning and in the middle of our Inscription, yet we do not observe any character for King or the character of a Son behind it. Even the places which I have extracted below, in the margin of the first page, from Schütz, No. 1, betray, by small deviations, rather kindred forms of prayer than kings' names; for which reason, also, the first half of the same occurs in the two equivalent lines on a round altar-stone in No. 36. As most of the Inscriptions which Schütz found engraven upon stones in a church stood upon the surface of altars, so also Nos. 20 and 21, which are in inverted order in the margin of the accompanying Table, near lines 22 to 40, have been completed from No. 29 and other Inscriptions—for the original four-cornered stones were afterwards formed into a cylinder by cutting away the corners, in order to make a pedestal. It is seen, by comparing 21. 2, 3 with 29. 3, and 21. 7, 8 with 19. 4, that the Inscriptions were not wider than the middle undamaged lines. If we compare the Inscriptions Nos. 33, 34, 35 with No. 28, it is easily seen that they formed a whole, as Inscriptions of two altar-sides, with the upper surface in the middle, and No. 32, was arranged with them as the front of the altar. The way in which the three twelve-line Inscriptions ran round the two sides and the top of the altar, and the seven-line Inscription was joined with them in the front, may be shown by the following figure:—

33	1	34 Top of the Altar.		35
Left side of the Altar.	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
	9			
	10			
	11			
	12			
		13		
		14		
		15		
		16		
		17		
		18		
		19 xxxii Front.		

As by comparing the four first lines with the five first lines of No. 28, we see that the smaller lines of Nos. 33 and 35 do not always contain a particular word, but rather that the wedge of distinction of the word of the first line of No. 35 is placed, also, at the end of the first line of No. 34; so the comparison of the similar Inscriptions, Nos. 13, 14, and 15, shews that the Inscription No. 32 was attached as a conclusion to the three others: for, although the nineteen lines of this Inscription agree just as little with the just-mentioned nineteen lines, as with the fourteen lines of the nineteenth Inscription, still it is easily seen that the subject-matter of No. 32 corresponds to the second half of No. 19, or the nine last lines of Nos. 13, 14, and 15. The frequent occurrence of the same Inscription upon altars and rocks, as well as its immediate repetition with all kinds of little alterations, leads us to infer a form of prayer similar to that upon the Babylonian bricks. In No. 30 is a five-line Inscription (as also in No. 18 one of three lines) repeated immediately in succession, from which the smallest of all the Inscriptions in Nos. 24 and 31 may be easily completed as follows:—

No. xxiv.

No. xxxi.

The comparison of these two nearly equivalent Inscriptions, gives us the best explanation respecting their character and contents. If we compare the beginning of them with the beginning of the copy of Mr. von Mühlbach, we observe, not only at once, that the latter avoided the intersection of wedges by dividing one great transverse wedge into two little ones, but also, that it inserted after the first word, a character composed of two and three transverse wedges, as is done also in the third line of No. 24. Hence are distinguished many of the parallel places brought forward in the margin of the accompanying Table; and in the second line of No. 24, we find that character inserted just at the beginning of a word, separated by the wedge of distinction, just as, in the fourth line, twice in succession. If we may infer from this that the character, sometimes written, sometimes left out, is a vowel, a continued comparison (in particular of the very similar Nos. 13 and 14) teaches us still more vowels. If we compare together Nos. 31 and 30, the first lines are distinguished only by the arbitrary insertion or omission of that character; but, at the end of the second line, which corresponds to the beginning of the second line of No. 31, there is wanting, in No. 30, the character consisting of four oblique wedges, whilst in the middle of the third line, it stands after the

same word which concludes the second line of No. 31. If, again, we compare No. 29 with No. 31, we find the second line written perfectly the same; but in the first line, there is wanting the character composed of three vertical wedges, while at the end, is added the same character, which, at the end of the second line in the completed No. 21, I thought must have been exchanged for that which stands at the end of the third line in No. 29. Both characters are found added very often at the end of the lines; compare only the end of the fifth line of Nos. 13 or 14, with the beginning of the ninth line; and in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy, the end of the thirty-fourth line with the beginning of the sixth, and the middle of the twenty-first line. Where two or more characters are inserted, we must suppose a particular word in them. Often, however, longer subjects are introduced in one or more lines, in which we perceive partly only variations of the forms of prayer.

Thus No. 30 inserts almost a whole line before the beginning of the second line of No. 31, and in which there is only something added to the repetition of the beginning of the Inscription; as is done, also, at the beginning of the second line of the Inscription before which No. 30 again inserts half a line. In the same way, before the end of the Inscription, No. 30 repeats that which stands in the fourth line of No. 31, with a little alteration at the end, so that the whole Inscription is almost always repeating the same thing with little variation.

If we compare Mr. von Mühlbach's copy with Schütz, No. 12, we find again all the first line, except that after the first unsound vein, the character composed of five transverse wedges is inserted; and soon after the second unsound vein, the character which concludes the second line, as well as the whole Inscription, is not repeated; but instead of the four last characters of the first line, in No. 12, a whole line is inserted in Mr. von Mühlbach's copy. If, now, we compare its third line with Schütz, No. 12. 2, we find here the two characters, with which line 6 in von Mühlbach begins, repeated immediately in succession, which, however, appears to be only an error in drawing; just as, soon afterwards, von Mühlbach

has left out several wedges, but has exhibited, instead, a more correct drawing of the last character but one of his third line. What Schütz, in No. 12. 2, makes to follow, is read in Mr. von Mühlbach at the beginning of the fourth line, without the previous insertion of the, perhaps, somewhat misdrawn character.

Further on, No. 42 agrees better with von Mühlbach's copy, where, indeed, the second line differs from the four last characters of the first line; but the third line, with the exception of the last character but one, agrees perfectly with the fourth line of Mr. von Mühlbach. Afterwards, No. 42 inserts, indeed, the first line of No. 30 *f.* or No. 28 *f*; but the word which follows after the three first characters of the fifth line, occupies, not only here, but also at the end of the following line and elsewhere, the place of that word which, in von Mühlbach, is distinguished in the fifth and sixth lines by the vertical wedge of distinction. Compare only the beginning of the twenty-ninth line, with the end of the thirty-fourth, in Mr. von Mühlbach, where, in the thirty-fifth line, exactly the same follows as in Schütz, omitting a character of five transverse wedges. How far from this point the Inscription of Schütz corresponds with that of von Mühlbach, may be seen by the six last lines in the accompanying Table, if they are compared with the five last lines in von Mühlbach.

In the first half of the thirty-sixth line, von Mühlbach's copy introduces a little variation of what immediately follows; but then it allows to follow all the thirty-first line of Schütz, No. 42, omitting the seventh and last character. Of line 32, only a little is found in Mr. von Mühlbach, line 37; but line 38 contains, with the exception of a few characters in the middle, nothing which is not also in Schütz, line 33 *f.* Instead of the first half of line 39, Schütz has six other characters; but then the conclusion differs only in a few characters at the end, from the last line but one.

Since the Babylonian Wedge Writing is distinguished from all others by its permitting no division of words into different lines, (for the same subject-matter of different inscrip-

tions is very often divided differently), the splitting up of Inscriptions into their single words is facilitated by this circumstance, as much as it is by the insertion of single words. This, however, also requires to find the same words in different parts of one Inscription, just as, in von Mühlbach, (besides the parallel places pointed out in the margin of the accompanying Table,) there are found many other similar words which it would be too long to enumerate here.

Now, as all the Babylonian Wedge-writing Inscriptions with which I am acquainted, in the later as well as in the older style (excepting the documents from Babylon), contain nothing but prayers, or are at least of a religious purport—and yet the Inscriptions in Armenia have scarcely a word in common with the Inscriptions from Babylon—this circumstance leads us to arrive at the conclusion of a difference of language.

G. F. GROTEFEND.

Copy of an Inscription which was found cut on a rock on the road between Isoglú and Kúnurhan, in Murad in Asia.

Parallel Passages by Shütz.

Babylonian Writing

- Nº XLII. 1.
- Nº XXIX. C.
- Nº XXXIII. D. — XXXIV. E.
- Nº XXX. A.
- Nº XXVIII. B.

Persepolitan writing of the third class.

- Nº XI. 1.

Parallel Passages by Mühlbach.

- Z. 1.
- Z. 4.
- Z. 8.
- Z. 11.
- Z. 38.

By Mühlbach and Schütz.

- H. Z. 3.
- Z. 5. u. 32.
- Z. 6.
- Z. 21.
- Z. 34. S. XL. 3
- S. I. 1.
- I. 5.
- I. 1.

CONTINUATION OF PLATE I.

No XXI. BY SCHÜTZ IN QUADRANGULAR FORM.

2

3

4

5

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

N. XX.

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

DEL

THE LAST SIX LINES OF No LXII. BY SCHÜTZ.

31 … 32.

33 … 34.

35 … 36.

